

Zur Herkunft und Sozialgeschichte Israels. "Das Böckchen in der Milch seiner Mutter" *

Es ist nicht die Absicht dieses Beitrages, eine neue Erklärung der so lange unverstanden gebliebenen Vorschrift, ein Böckchen nicht in der Milch seiner Mutter zu kochen (Ex 23,19; 34,26; Dtn 14,21), vorzutragen. Was zur Herkunft und ursprünglichen Bedeutung des Verbotes gesagt werden kann, hat O. Keel gesagt: das säugende Muttertier symbolisiert göttliche "Lebensmacht und Lebenslust" in einer Weise, die es dem Menschen verbietet, in den Zusammenhang zwischen Säugender und Gesäugtem utilitaristisch einzugreifen⁽¹⁾. Dass die Einsicht in die kanaanäische Herkunft jenes Verbotes, das "für die rituell reine (koschere) jüdische Küche weit mehr Konsequenzen gehabt"⁽²⁾ hat als jedes andere (und damit für einen der wesentlichsten Lebensbereiche der Anhänger des Judentums), nicht jedem leichtfällt, ist verständlich⁽³⁾. Indem Keel die Texte im Horizont

* U. Hübner, H. Weippert und M. Weippert haben eine erste Fassung des Manuskriptes gelesen; für kritische und weiterführende Hinweise sei ihnen auch an dieser Stelle herzlich gedankt. Die Verantwortung für dennoch stehende gebliebene Fehler liegt beim Verfasser. — Der Aufsatz ist K. Galling zum Gedächtnis (1900-1987) gewidmet.

⁽¹⁾ O. KEEL, *Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und Verwandtes. Im Lichte eines altorientalischen Bildmotivs* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 33; Freiburg/Schweiz und Göttingen 1980); DERS., "Bildträger aus Palästina/Israel und die besondere Bedeutung der Miniaturkunst", in: DERS. und S. SCHROER, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* (OBO 67; Freiburg und Göttingen 1985) 26-38.

⁽²⁾ KEEL, *Böcklein*, 9.

⁽³⁾ Cf. zuletzt M. HARAN, "Das Böcklein in der Milch seiner Mutter und das säugende Muttertier", *TZ* 41 (1985) 135-159, der Keels Anliegen (und die Kategorie des Religiösen) verfehlt (cf. KEEL, "Bildträger", 28-33); B. JANOWSKI, "Rez. KEEL, *Böcklein*", *ZDPV* 102 (1986) 184-189, mit notwendigen Anmerkungen, der sich jedoch von Harans Verständnislosigkeit zu beeindrucken zeigt; und die nur halbherzige Zustimmung bei R. BARTELMUS, "Die Tierwelt in der Bibel", *Bibl Not* 37 (1987) 50 m. Anm. 22.

zeitgenössischer Bilder interpretiert, lädt er dazu ein, sie mit den Augen der Zeit zu sehen, die sie hervorgebracht hat, und in der Konfrontation mit der Bildlichkeit, die diesen alten Texten inneohnt, von der Auslegungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte eine Zeit lang abzusehen, die im heutigen Leser eines biblischen Textes immer präsent ist⁽⁴⁾.

Hier soll die Erklärungsrichtung von Keel ein Stück weiter verfolgt und zugegebenermassen radikalisiert werden; sodann ist ein Gesichtspunkt vorzustellen, der erklären könnte, wie die sehr partikuläre Kultvorschrift zur generellen Speisesitte wurde.

I. Die Herkunft des Verbotes

Keels Weigerung, im säugenden Muttertier das Symbol einer bestimmten Gottheit — die nach der Natur des Symbols nur eine Göttin gewesen sein kann — zu sehen, überrascht⁽⁵⁾. Keel mag bei der Identifizierung sein weiter Horizont hinderlich gewesen sein, der von Ägypten bis Babylonien und vom Chalkolithicum bis zum Ende der Eisenzeit reicht und ihn in der angesprochenen Ikone gleichermassen Hathor und Isis, Ishtar und 'Anat erkennen lässt⁽⁶⁾. Aber Keels Horizont war nicht jener der Israeliten des 10. bis 8. Jh. v. Chr., die das Motiv auf ihren Siegeln⁽⁷⁾ an ihrem Arm oder auf ihrem Herzen trugen — nach Hld 8,6⁽⁸⁾. Für Südsyrien, Phönizien und Palästina kommen nur 'Anat und/oder 'Astart als die mit dem säugenden Muttertier — ob Kuh oder Capride — verbundene Göttin infrage⁽⁹⁾. Von den sechzehn genannten Siegeln stammt eines aus Beth Šemeš,

⁽⁴⁾ KEEL, "Bildträger", 38; cf. auch ebd., 30.

⁽⁵⁾ KEEL, *Böcklein*, 142.

⁽⁶⁾ Ebd.

⁽⁷⁾ Ebd., 114-117 mit Abb. 89 bis 94; DERS., "Bildträger", 34-38 mit Abb. 1 bis 16 (davon werden Abb. 4, 5, 12 als aus dem Kunsthandel stammend und Abb. 6 bis 8, denen das gesäugte Junge fehlt, im folgenden nicht weiter berücksichtigt). HARAN's Unverständnis fügt dem zwei in Palästina gefundene, aber eindeutig phönizische Belege hinzu ("Das Böcklein", 142f).

⁽⁸⁾ Dazu VF., "Die Braut im Hohenlied", *Geliebt - verkauft - getauscht - geraubt. Die Rolle der Frau im Kulturvergleich* (G. VÖLGER und K. VON WELCK ed.) (Köln 1985) 130.

⁽⁹⁾ Cf. KEEL, *Böcklein*, 136f.

das sich als kanaanäische Stadt zu einem nicht genau zu klärenden Zeitpunkt dem Staat Juda angeschlossen hat⁽¹⁰⁾; eins vom *Tell Fāra*, und eins vom *Tell 'Ēṭūn*. Die anderen dreizehn kommen aus Städten des Nordreiches: Thirza, Taanach, Megiddo (zwei), Mizpa (fünf), Dor, Gezer (zwei) und Sichem. Dabei liefert der Kontext Ex 23,14-19; 34,22-26* zusammen mit dem von Keel zusammengetragenen Bildmaterial eine Interpretation des Gebotes, die den Rekurs auf 'Anat nicht erfordert (allerdings auch nicht ausschliesst): ist der Dank für die Fruchtbarkeit der Felder und Herden der Anlass des Festmahles, bei dem Fleisch gekocht wird, dann wäre es eine taktlose Verletzung der die Fruchtbarkeit der Herden gewährenden Gottheit, in den Zusammenhang von Gebärender und Geborenem einzugreifen. Freilich bleiben genug Gründe, zu bezweifeln, dass die in der Frühzeit Israels die Fruchtbarkeit der Herden gewährleistende Gottheit Jahwe oder ein anderer männlicher Gott gewesen ist.

Für den Bezug auf 'Anat spricht die Herkunftsstatistik der Siegel, in der das Nordreich Israel stärker vertreten ist, als es allein seiner grösseren Ausdehnung oder dem höheren Anteil kanaanäischer Städte unter seinen Siedlungen entspräche. Seit längerem ist vorgeschlagen, in der in den Elephantine-Papyri bezeugten Trias *Yahû, *'Anat-Yahû und *'Išim-Bêt'el das Pantheon von Bethel, dem prominentesten Staatsheiligtum Israels, zu sehen⁽¹¹⁾. Mit dieser Annahme finden die pluralischen Kälber Hos 10,5⁽¹²⁾ ebenso ihre einfache

(¹⁰) Cf. H. M. NIEMANN, *Die Daniten. Studien zur Geschichte eines altisraelitischen Stammes* (Göttingen 1985) 31-35 und dazu VF., *ZDPV* 101 (1985) 185.

(¹¹) H.-P. MÜLLER, "Einige alttestamentliche Probleme zur aramäischen Inschrift von Dēr 'Allā", *ZDPV* 94 (1978) 62 Anm. 40; DERS., "Religionsgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu den Texten von Ebla", *ZDPV* 96 (1980) 18f; DERS., "Gott und die Götter in den Anfängen der biblischen Religion", *Monothelismus im Alten Israel und seiner Umwelt* (O. KEEL ed.) (Biblische Beiträge 14; Fribourg 1980) 128-132; VF., "El Šaddai", *Bibl Not* 16 (1981) 24.

(¹²) Auch 8,4; 13,2. Die Praxis H. W. WOLFFS, *Dodekapropheten 1. Hosea* (BKAT XIV/1; Neukirchen 1965), z.St., nach dem Vorgang eines Teiles der Septuaginta-Tradition kurzerhand einen Singular zu konjizieren, nennt schon W. RUDOLPH, *Hosea* (KAT XIII, 1; Gütersloh 1966) 195 "billig". Rudolphs eigener Vorschlag, ein Abstraktum "Kälbererei, Gekälbererei" anzusetzen, scheitert daran, dass Abstracta auf -ūt im Biblischen Hebräisch nie von Primärnomina gebildet werden, sondern nur von solchen, die Zustände oder Eigenschaften beschreiben. Die folgenden singularischen Suffixe können mühelos auf Beth Aven bezogen werden, der feminine Plural mag eine Anspielung auf

ste Erklärung wie die Mehrzahl der Götter, die Sargon II. in Samaria erbeutet zu haben angibt⁽¹³⁾. Auch Jerobeams Proklamation: "Hier sind deine Götter, Israel, die dich aus Ägypten geführt haben" (1 Kön 12,28) ist so ungezwungener zu verstehen als bisher⁽¹⁴⁾.

Die Annahme, dass die alten Israeliten bis Jeremia (2,11) ausnahmslos und in ihrer Mehrzahl noch lange nach ihm Polytheisten waren, wobei spätestens seit Hosea eine Minderheit forderte, nicht nur der Stämmebund, dann Staat Israel, sondern auch jeder einzelne Israelit (und jede einzelne Israelitin) dürfe von den vielen Göttern, an deren Existenz nicht gezweifelt wurde, nur einen verehren, kann sich mittlerweile ausser auf die bekannten prophetischen Polemiken auf epigraphische Evidenz aus dem Südreich Juda stützen. Es scheint, als habe man in Jerusalem noch im 7. Jh. v. Chr. Elqōnē-'arš als Schöpfergott verehrt, während Jahwe diese Funktion erst bei Jeremia übernommen hat⁽¹⁵⁾. Auf dem flachen Land hat Jahwe

Anat beinhalten. — Cf. zur Rolle Hoseas als Inaugurator der "monotheistischen Partei" VF., "Beth Aven", *Bib* 65 (1984) 251f; DERS., "Nomadischer Henotheismus? Bemerkungen zu altnordarabischen Stammesgöttern", *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag – ausgewählte Vorträge* (W. RÖLLIG ed.) (ZDMG, Suppl. 6.; Stuttgart 1985) 125.

⁽¹³⁾ Cf. K. GALLING, ed., *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen 1968 u. Ndr.) 60 Nr. 30 mit einer gezwungenen Anm. 1 (Sargons Historiographen standen den Ereignissen näher als irgendein biblischer Schriftsteller — überdies gab es in der gut funktionierenden assyrischen Bürokratie offizielle Beutelisten); cf. stattdessen M. COGAN, *Imperialism and Religion* (SBLMS 19; Missoula 1974) 104f.

⁽¹⁴⁾ H. DONNER, "Hier sind deine Götter, Israel", *Wort und Geschichte* (FS K. Elliger = AOAT 18; Kevelaer und Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) 45-50 (aber auf diverse lokale Jahwes kann man sich grammatisch auch nur im Singular beziehen — bis sich solche zu separaten Göttern entwickeln, ist einige Zeit vonnöten, ein königliches Dekret kann das nicht leisten); gleichermassen abwegig E. WÜRTHWEIN, *1. Könige 1-16* (ATD 11,1; Göttingen 1977) 163-165: die Unsinnigkeit von V. 29 erweist V. 28 als vorgegeben, denn die Formel gehört zur Inauguration, nicht zur Produktion der Kultbilder.

⁽¹⁵⁾ H. WEIPPERT, *Schöpfer des Himmels und der Erde. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Jeremiabuches* (SBS 102; Stuttgart 1981) 16 m. Anm. 20. Bei]qn'rš muss es sich um den Gottesnamen *'Ēlqōnē-'arš handeln; läge eine Prädikation Els oder Jahwes als "Schöpfer der Erde" vor, könnte das -ē von *qōnē am Wortende nicht unbezeichnet bleiben. Es ist gewiss kein Zufall, dass Jeremia, der erste namhaft zu machende alttestamentliche Autor, der Jahwe als Schöpfergott ansprach, zugleich der erste war, die Existenz anderer Götter zu bestreiten (Jer 2,11).

Ašērā (<Ašīrat) zur Gefährtin⁽¹⁶⁾. Im Gegensatz zwischen diesem Götterpaar und den Triaden von Bethel (s.o.), Jerusalem (Gen 14,18f)⁽¹⁷⁾ und Hebron (Gen 18,2-9.16*)⁽¹⁸⁾ drückt sich der Gegensatz zwischen urbaner und nicht-urbaner, staatlicher und noch nicht ganz von der Staatlichkeit erfasster Gesellschaft des eisenzeitlichen Palästina aus⁽¹⁹⁾.

Es ist freilich darauf hinzuweisen, dass 'Anat den Übergang vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. nicht unbeschadet überstanden hat. Eine der prominentesten Göttinnen am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends, tritt sie im 1. nur noch sehr sporadisch und überwiegend in Komposita auf: 'Anatyahû, Attargatis⁽²⁰⁾. Es mag sein, dass das komplizierte und agile Pantheon der syrischen Stadtstaaten des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. unter den ökonomischen und sozialen Bedingungen des 1. Jahrtausends obsolet geworden war. Bei den angeführten Siegelbesitzern handelt es sich zweifellos um Angehörige der Oberschicht und/oder staatliche Funktionäre, für die eine Bezugnahme auf 'Anat, als Mitglied des Pantheons ihres Staates, auch dann

(16) Cf. W. G. DEVER, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh?", *BASOR* 255 (1984) 21-37; Z. ZEVIT, "The Khirbet el-Qôm Inscription mentioning a Goddess", *BASOR* 255 (1984) 39-47.

(17) H. GESE, "Die Religionen Altsyriens", H. GESE-M. HÖFNER-K. RUDOLPH, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer* (RM 10/2; Stuttgart 1970) 114-116.

(18) Cf. VF., "El Šaddai — der Gott Abrahams?", *BZ NF* 29 (1985) 102.

(19) Cf. VF., *Ismael. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins; Wiesbaden 1985) 86-88. M. WEIPPERT, "Synkretismus und Monotheismus. Religionsinterne Konfliktbewältigung im Alten Israel", *Kultur und Konflikt* (J. ASSMANN ed.) (Ringvorlesung Heidelberg 1987/88) [im Druck], interpretiert den Gegensatz von 'Anat und Ašērā als Jahwes Gefährtin chronologisch, nicht soziologisch. Man könnte erwägen, ob Jahwe in der randständigeren Gesellschaft des Südens, die zugleich klarer auf ein städtisches Zentrum ausgerichtet war als die Landschaften des Nordreiches, früher Züge Els annahm als im Norden, wo er bis zuletzt ein Konkurrent Ba'als blieb.

(20) GESE, "Religionen", 156f. — Ein Beleg für 'Anat aus der Sinai-Halbinsel, 13.-10. Jh. v. Chr.: VF., "Eine altkanaanäische Inschrift aus Rōd el-'Air: Sinai 527", *Göttinger Miszellen* 70 (1984) 33-36 und M. DIJKSTRA, *UF* 15 (1983; erschien nach *GM* 70) 37; DERS. und I. BIGGS, "Pro-Sinaitic Sinai 527 — A Rejoinder", *Bibl Not* 40 (1987) 7-10 mit 10 Fig. 1 nach Autopsie.

nahelag, wenn die Mehrzahl ihrer Zeitgenossen mit dieser Göttin nichts mehr anfangen konnte.

Der Prozess, der 'Anat zurücktreten liess, scheint freilich schon im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. unter den nicht-urbanen Bauern und Viehzüchtern begonnen zu haben, die am Rande oder ausserhalb der städtischen Gesellschaft lebten und aus denen die Israeliten hervorgehen sollten. Denn dem von Keel gesammelten Bildmaterial ist eine sprachliche Ikone hinzuzufügen, die im umrissenen gesellschaftlichen Randbereich entstanden sein muss, ins Biblische Hebräisch eingegangen ist, und das Jungtier als lebendes Symbol der Göttin ebenso charakterisiert wie es diese Göttin anders benennt: *šagar 'ālāpêkā* — 'aštarōt šō(')nākā "Šagar, der frische Wurf, deiner Rinder — 'Aštar, der frische Wurf, deines Kleinviehs" (Dtn 7,13; 28,4.18.51). Der vermutete soziale Hintergrund dieser linguistischen Ikone wird gestützt vom Vorkommen der beiden Göttinnen in den proto-aramäischen Inschriften vom *Tell Dēr 'Allā*, ca. 700 v.Chr.⁽²¹⁾ Das Ostjordanland stand weithin ausserhalb der urbanen Staatengemeinschaft in der ausgehenden Bronzezeit — so beginnt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die "Eisenzeit", das heisst ihre Keramik und wohl auch ihre Sozialstruktur, im nördlichen Ostjordanland im 14. Jh.v.Chr.⁽²²⁾ —, andererseits hat es die Innovationen Palästinas seit dem 11. Jh.v.Chr., sowohl auf sprachlichem wie auf dem Gebiet der materiellen Kultur, mit einer gewissen Phasenverschiebung mitgemacht⁽²³⁾.

Es sei dahingestellt, wie bewusst den Israeliten — und den späteren Judäern — der ursprüngliche Bezug des Verbots auf 'Anat und/oder 'Aštar gewesen ist (da 'Anat und 'Aštar später zu Attargatis verschmolzen, kann der Unterschied zwischen beiden nie sehr

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. MÜLLER, "Alttestamentliche Probleme", 64f; H. und M. WEIPERT, "Die 'Bileam'-Inschrift vom Tell Dēr 'Allā", *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 100f. J. A. HACKETT, *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Allā* (HSM 31; Chico, CA 1984) 41 ersetzt gedankenlos die Göttinnen durch die von ihnen abgeleiteten Ikonen. Zur Sprache der Inschrift: VF., *ZDPV* 101 (1985) 189-191.

⁽²²⁾ Cf. vorläufig C. J. LENZEN und E. A. KNAUF, "Notes on Syrian Toponyms in Egyptian Sources I: 1. *Gintōt and *Qart 'Anab", *Göttinger Miszellen* 96 (1987) 60f mit C. J. LENZEN, R. L. GORDON und A. M. MCQUITTY, "Excavations at Tell Irbid and Beit Ras, 1985", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* 29 (1985) 152-154; Pl. XXII 2.

⁽²³⁾ Cf. vorläufig VF., "Supplementa Ismaelitica 7. Zwei Siegel vom Tell el-Mazār", *Bibl Not* 25 (1984) 26; DERS., "Qaus", *UF* 16 (1984) 93-95.

gross gewesen sein)⁽²⁴⁾. Aufgrund seines Überlebens wird man den Schluss ziehen müssen: nicht sehr, jedenfalls nicht sehr lange. Gewiss kann man sagen, dass 'Aštart in 'aštərōt šōn(')əkā so desemantisiert war wie das "Gott sei Dank!", das heutzutage auch einer überzeugten Atheistin entschlüpft. Doch wie derzeit alle *native speaker* des Deutschen darüber Auskunft geben können, was "Gott" meint — sie mögen daran glauben oder nicht —, so war die angeführte Ikone im 7. bis 5. Jh.v.Chr. etymologisch transparent. Es lässt sich annehmen, dass die Verfasser des Deuteronomiums den Ausdruck gerne vermieden hätten — wenn ein anderer zur Verfügung gestanden hätte.

II. Ursprung der Sitte und Ursprung Israels

Linguistische wie ikonographische Evidenz konvergieren zu einer Einsicht: "Israel" hat weder die Göttin(nen), die den Herden Fruchtbarkeit verleihen, noch das Verbot, ein Böckchen in der Milch seiner Mutter zu kochen, von Kanaan übernommen, wie es noch Keel formuliert⁽²⁵⁾. Einer derartigen Aussage liegt eine Theorie über die Ursprünge Israels zugrunde, die auch dadurch nicht haltbarer wird, dass das AT sie teilt: die der Nicht-Autochthonie Israels in Kanaan. Nach dem heute vorliegenden archäologischen und epigraphischen Material bestehen keine Zweifel mehr daran, dass Israel nicht nur in Kanaan, sondern auch aus Kanaan entstanden ist: aus Teilen der Gesellschaft Palästinas im 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr. freilich, die am Rande und teilweise ausserhalb jener Gesellschaft lebte, die uns die Mythen und Bilder hinterlassen hat; strittig sind die Modalitäten⁽²⁶⁾.

⁽²⁴⁾ Der Identifikationsvorgang begann bereits in der urbanen Gesellschaft der Spätbronzezeit, zumindest bei Ausländern: H. WEIPPERT, *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Handbuch der Archäologie: Vorderasien II 1; München 1988) 295 m.Anm.l.

⁽²⁵⁾ KEEL, *Böcklein*, 44, 142f.

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. C. H. J. DE GEUS, *The Tribes of Israel. An investigation into some of the presuppositions of Martin Noth's amphictyony hypothesis* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 18; Assen-Amsterdam 1976); M. WEIPPERT, "The Israelite 'Conquest' and the Evidence from Transjordan", *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975)*, I (F. M. CROSS ed.) (Cambridge, MA 1979) 33f; H. DONNER, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen*.

Es sei nur am Rande vermerkt, dass mit einer hypothetischen nomadischen Vorgeschichte Israels nichts gewonnen wäre; denn altorientalische Nomaden unterschieden sich in ihrem religiösen Verhalten, soweit feststellbar, nicht von zeitgenössischen nicht-urbanen Sesshaften⁽²⁷⁾. Nicht autochthon, sondern aus Arabien zugewandert ist lediglich der Gott Jahwe⁽²⁸⁾; aber auch dieser Sachverhalt führt nicht aus Kanaan heraus, insofern das Arabien des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. nichts anderes als ein kanaanäisches Randgebiet ist — eigenständige sprachliche, kulturelle und politische Entwicklungen setzen im Norden wie im Süden Arabiens erst mit dem Beginn des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. ein⁽²⁹⁾.

III. Die Bedeutung des Kultverbotes

In diesem Kontext erhält das Kultverbot zwei weitere signifikante Momente: dass es um das Kochen von Böckchen geht, und um das Kochen von Böckchen in Milch. Um ein eigentliches Kultverbot handelt es sich freilich nicht, auch wenn es Ex 23,19; 34,26 im Kontext von Regelungen zu den drei jährlichen Wallfahrtsfesten steht (Ex

Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis zur Staatenbildungszeit (Göttingen 1984) 126f; E. OTTO, "Historisches Geschehen-Überlieferung-Erklärungsmodell", *Bibl Not* 23 (1984) 70-74; L. E. STAGER, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel", *BASOR* 260 (1985) 1-35; G. W. AHLSTRÖM, *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake 1986) 1-36; R. WENNING – E. ZENGER, "Ein bäuerliches Baal-Heiligtum im samaritanischen Gebirge aus der Zeit der Anfänge Israels", *ZDPV* 102 (1986) 80-86; VF., "Berg und Tal, Stadt und Stamm — Grundzüge der Geschichte Palästinas in den letzten fünftausend Jahren", *Pracht und Geheimnis. Kleidung und Schmuck aus Palästina und Jordanien. Katalog der Sammlung Widad Kavar anlässlich einer Ausstellung des Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museums* (G. VÖLGER-K. VON WELCK-K. HACKSTEIN ed.) (Köln 1987) 31; V. FRITZ, "Conquest or Settlement? The Early Iron Age in Palestine", *BA* (1987) 84-100; VF., *Midian. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins; Wiesbaden [im Druck]).

⁽²⁷⁾ Cf. VF., "Henotheismus".

⁽²⁸⁾ Cf. VF., "Yahwe", *VT* 34 (1984) 467-472; *Midian*, Kapitel I 2.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. VF., "Supplementa Ismaelitica 9. Phinon — Feinan und das west-arabische Ortsnamenkontinuum", *Bibl Not* 36 (1987) 40-47; DERS., "The West Arabian Place Name Province: Its Origin and Significance", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 18 (1988) [im Druck].

23,14-19; 34,22f.25f). Kochen ist an sich keine kultische Handlung, weder mit noch ohne Milch. Der Fall gehört dennoch in diesen Kontext, weil es ohne den Kult, das Fest kein Fleisch zu kochen gegeben hätte. Haustiere, die ja zur Familie gehörten, darum auch dem Sabbatgebot und dem Kriminalrecht unterlagen, konnten gar nicht anders getötet werden als in der Form des Opfers (das freilich nicht notwendigerweise am Orts- oder überhaupt einem offiziellen Heiligtum erfolgt sein muss), ein Zusammenhang, der erst mit erfolgter Kultzentralisation der Säkularisierung anheimfiel. Dabei zeigt Lev 17,1-7 als Reaktion auf Dtn 12,15-16.20-27, dass nichtkultisches Schlachten zwar in Jerusalem theoretisch konzipiert werden konnte, aber auf dem Lande noch lange undenkbar blieb. So wie das Fest den Fleischgenuss durch das Opfer ermöglicht, so sehr gehört dann aber das Fleischessen zum Fest, der Ausnahme, der Steigerung des Alltags: "Das gemeinsame Mahl ist im Denken der früheren Menschen schon in sich eine sakrale Zeremonie. Man pflegt die Erinnerung an das schöne Fest, bei dem alle so froh waren und sich satt gegessen haben; und zu ewigem Gedenken meißelt man in Stein ein, wer an der Veranstaltung teilgenommen hat"⁽³⁰⁾. Die Ex 23,19; 34,26 der Bockchen-Regelung unmittelbar vorangehende Vorschrift "Das Erstklassigste der ersten Früchte deines Ackers sollst du zum Tempel Jahwes bringen", hätte nicht formuliert zu werden brauchen, jedenfalls nicht in und für eine Zeit, in der sich das noch von selbst verstand und auch im Eigeninteresse der Feiernden lag — jedenfalls solange die früheisenzeitliche Subsistenzwirtschaft noch nicht von der späteisenzeitlichen Marktwirtschaft abgelöst war.

Lag es in der Intention des *thanksgiving*, dass die Feiernden das Beste konsumierten, das die Erträge des Jahres aufzuweisen hatten: dann ist es signifikant, dass es sich beim tierischen Besten um Zie-

⁽³⁰⁾ R. MERKELBACH, "Die ephesischen Dionysosmysten vor den Stadt", ZPE 36 (1979) 155. Vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch die von Vf., "Vier thamudische Inschriften von Sinai", ZDPV 98 (1982) 172f veröffentlichten thamudischen Inschriften von der Sinai-Halbinsel (Nr. 2 und Nr. 4). Zur Nr. 2 schlägt W. W. MÜLLER (brieflich) die Übersetzung "Gruss denen, die am kultischen Mahl der Läuterung teilnehmen" vor unter Verweis auf sabäisch 'lm = arabisch *walīma* "Gastmahl". Nr. 4 kann nach dem Klassisch-Arabischen übersetzt werden: "Baus hatte Fleisch im Überfluss" (WKAS II/1, 372f). Vgl. für den im Gegensatz zum Festtag fleischlosen Alltag, einer Konstante des gesamten vor-neuzeitlichen Mittelmeerraumes, F. BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, I (Glasgow 1975 = 1986) 239-246, 459f.

gen handelt. Wie der Charakter der Feste, belegt auch dieser Zug den bäuerlichen Status der Feiernden. Nomaden, Kleinviehzüchter in Monokultur, würden selbstverständlich die wertvolleren Schafeschlachten, die sie züchten müssen, um auf dem Markt ihre Bedarfsgüter nicht-tierischer Herkunft eintauschen zu können⁽³¹⁾ (nomadische Wirtschaft ist von Anfang an Marktwirtschaft, und gibt sich auch darin gegenüber den bäuerlichen Lebensformen als sekundär zu erkennen). Nomaden wie Bauern hielten und halten im vorderen Orient heute noch zusätzlich Ziegen als eine Art Schlechtwetter-Versicherung: fällt einmal nicht genug Regen, um Ackerbau oder Schafzucht betreiben zu können, kommen die Ziegen immer noch durch – und mit ihnen die Familie⁽³²⁾. Summieren sich durch politische oder klimatische Katastrophen eine Reihe von schlechten Jahren, gibt ein ganzes Dorf auch einmal den Ackerbau ganz auf und wird nomadisch, wie es im Fall der Ta'amire geschehen ist⁽³³⁾. Mit dem Übergang zu marktwirtschaftlich ausgerichteten "high intensity food production regimes" ersetzen andererseits Schweine die Ziegen⁽³⁴⁾.

⁽³¹⁾ Zum Wert von Schafen gegenüber Ziegen, und der Beliebtheit ihres Fleisches: G. DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, VI: Zeltleben, Vieh- und Milchwirtschaft, Jagd, Fischfang* (Gütersloh 1939 = Hildesheim 1964) 182-184, 186-189.

⁽³²⁾ Cf. E. WIRTH, *Syrien. Eine geographische Landeskunde* (Darmstadt 1971) 207f; Ø. S. LA BIANCA, "Objectives, Procedures, and Findings of Ethnoarchaeological Research in the Vicinity of Hesban in Jordan", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* 28 (1984) 277-279 (Ziegenzucht der in Ex 23,19 par. vorausgesetzten Art als typisch für ein "medium intensity food production system"); E. B. BANNING-I. KÖHLER-ROLLEFSON, "Ethnoarchaeological Survey in the Bēdā Area, Southern Jordan", *ZDPV* 102 (1986) 162f (es handelt sich bei den studierten "Beduinen" um Halb-Fellachen, nichtsesshafte Ackerbauern mit sehr kleinem Migrationsgebiet, cf. ebd. 161. Diese Lebensform ist unter den "Vorfahren Israels" ebenso anzusetzen wie die von Dorfbewohnern).

⁽³³⁾ M. FREIHERR V. OPPENHEIM-E. BRÄUNLICH-W. CASSEL, *Die Beduinen, II: Die Beduinenstämme in Palästina, Transjordanien, Sinai, Hedjāz* (Leipzig 1943 = Hildesheim etc. 1983) 74. Bemerkenswert ist die Diskrepanz zwischen der dokumentierten Herkunft des Stammes und seinem Bewusstsein der eigenen Herkunft (ihre – unhistorische – Wandersage verbindet sie mit Petra statt dem aufgegebenen Dorf *Bet Ta'mur* bei Bethlehem).

⁽³⁴⁾ LABIANCA, "Objectives", 278f. Zur eisenzeitlichen Schweinezucht in Israel demnächst U. HÜBNER, "Schweine, Schweineknochen und ein Speiseverbot im alten Israel", *VT* [im Druck].

Ziegen also waren der gewöhnliche Viehbesitz der Menschen, denen Ex 23,14-19; 34,22-26* ursprünglich galten: Menschen, für die der Besitz eines einzigen Schafes schon ein exceptionelles Vermögen darstellt (2 Sam 12,1-4). Gewiss hat es auch schon vor dem Übergang zum Rentenkapitalismus in Israel und Juda zwischen dem 9. und 8. Jh. v. Chr.⁽³⁵⁾ eine ländliche Oberschicht gegeben, die ausserdem Rinder, wie Abraham (Gen 18,7f), oder gar Rinderherden, Schafherden und Sykomorenhaine besass, wie Amos⁽³⁶⁾. Das Gesetz aber hat nicht sie, sondern den Normalfall im Auge: und mag als ein weiteres Indiz genommen werden, dass Israel aus der bäuerlichen Unterschicht Kanaans hervorgegangen ist.

Dieser Zusammenhang geht aus einem anderen Aspekt des Verbotes noch klarer hervor. Das Verbot, bei den jährlichen Hauptfesten ein Böckchen in der Milch seiner Mutter zu kochen, ist nur sinnvoll, wenn bei diesen Festen regelmässig oder wiederholt Fleisch in Milch gekocht wurde. Das wurde es wohl in der Tat. Wieder ist an das Fest als höchste Steigerung des Lebensgenusses für den antiken Menschen anzuknüpfen. Was lag näher, als den exceptionellen Genuss des Tieres — sein Fleisch — mit dem gewöhnlichen zu kombinieren und so seinerseits zu steigern, sei es, dass man beides zusammen servierte, wie Abraham seinen Gästen (Gen 18,8, aus dem ältesten

(³⁵) Cf. zum Rentenkapitalismus H. BOBEK, "Die Hauptstufen der Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsentsfaltung in geographischer Sicht", *Erde* 90 (1959) 279-287; WIRTH, *Syrien*, 154f, 216-219, 264f; DERS., "Die Beziehungen der orientalisches-islamischen Stadt zum umgebenden Lande. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie des Rentenkapitalismus", *Geographie heute. Einheit und Vielfalt. Ernst Plewe zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (E. MEYNEN ed.) (Wiesbaden 1973) 323-333; X. DE PLANHOL, *Kulturgeographische Grundlagen der islamischen Geschichte* (Zürich und München 1975) 56-69; M. WEIPPERT, "Israel und Juda", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 5 (1980) 202; VF., *Ismael*, 37f; DERS., "Berg und Tal", 29f, 31f.

(³⁶) Nur so lassen sich die scheinbar divergierenden Berufsangaben des Amos (Am 1,1; 7,10-17) sinnvoll interpretieren, cf. H. WEIPPERT, "Amos. Seine Bilder und ihr Milieu", H. WEIPPERT-K. SEYBOLD-M. WEIPPERT, *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien* (OBO 64; Freiburg/Schweiz und Göttingen 1985) 2-5. Das Aufregende an der Botschaft des Amos ist nicht, dass sich hier ein Angehöriger der Unterschicht auflehnt — ihm hätten diese Worte gefehlt —, sondern dass ein (noch) landsässiger jüdischer Aristokrat seinen (schon)-stadtsässigen, rentenkapitalistischen Standesgenossen in Israel ins Gewissen redet.

Bestand der Abraham-Traditionen), sei es, dass man das eine im anderen kochte, wie es Sinuhe von seinen amurritischen Gastgeber widerfuhr (als "amurritisch" mag die Bevölkerung Palästinas im 3. und beginnenden 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr. bezeichnet werden insofern, als zwischen ihren Eigennamen, wie sie in ägyptischen Texten seit dem 23. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt sind, und den Namen der "Westleute" in den Keilschrifttexten struktural keine Unterschiede bestehen; ethnisch und soziologisch sind aus diesem linguistischen Kontinuum ohne zusätzliche Evidenz keine Folgerungen zu ziehen):

Mir wurden Brote als Tagesspeise zubereitet und Wein / als tägliche Lieferung, gekochtes Fleisch und Geflügel als / Braten, ausser dem Wild der Wüste, das man mir in Fallen / fing und vorlegte, und ausser dem, was meine Hunde brachten. / Man bereitete mir (auch) viele Süssspeisen zu, und Milch war in / allem, was gekocht wurde⁽³⁷⁾.

Gekocht aber wurde nach der vorangegangenen Liste nur Fleisch. Man hat zu dieser Sinuhe-Stelle zu Recht auf das Festessen der Bauern und Viehzüchter Südpalästinas und Transjordanien hingewiesen, das sich bis zur Gegenwart hoher Beliebtheit und Verbreitung erfreut, in diesen Kreisen als das einzig denkbare Festessen, das man kennt⁽³⁸⁾. Dabei hat freilich in den letzten 80 Jahren eine gewisse Verarmung stattgefunden. Während das Gericht heute durchweg *mansaf* heisst (nach der Platte, auf der es serviert wird), und aus Hammelfleisch (in ärmeren Kreisen Ziegenfleisch) besteht, das in getrockneter und wiederaufgelöster Sauermilch (*ġamīd*) gekocht wurde und über einen Haufen Reis (in ärmeren Kreisen Brot) drapiert aufgetragen wird⁽³⁹⁾, stellte A. Musil um die Jahrhundertwende noch verschiedene Zubereitungsarten mit verschiedenen Namen fest, wobei auch frische Milch Verwendung fand⁽⁴⁰⁾. Im heutigen Palästina und Jordanien gilt dieses Gericht als "beduinisch". Zum Lebensbereich der Beduinen im strikten Sinn — reiterkriegerische Kamelnomaden

⁽³⁷⁾ Sinuhe B 87-92; Übersetzung nach E. BLUMENTHAL, *Altägyptische Reiseerzählungen: Die Lebensgeschichte des Sinuhe. Der Reisebericht des Wen-Amun* (Leipzig 1982) 10.

⁽³⁸⁾ H. G. FISCHER, "'Milk in everything cooked' (Sinuhe B 91-92)", DERS., *Egyptian Studies I: Varia* (New York 1976) 97f; KEEL, *Böcklein*, 22f.

⁽³⁹⁾ BANNING und KÖHLER-ROLLEFSON, "Ethnoarchaeological Survey", 163-164.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ A. MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea III: Ethnologischer Reisebericht* (Wien 1908) 148f; FISCHER, "Milk", 98 kann ich nicht verifizieren.

— hat Palästina beiderseits des Jordans freilich nie gehört. In dem Masse, wie es in der arabischen und später islamischen Gesellschaft prestigeträchtig wurde, haben allerdings Ziehbauern, Teilnomaden, Lokalnomen und Halbfellachen "beduinisches" Bewusstsein angenommen, ein Prozess, der gegenwärtig andauert⁽⁴¹⁾. Wie der Sinuhe-Beleg für die hier besprochene Zubereitungsart zeigt, ist sie in den Kreisen dieser nicht- oder halbsesshaften Bauern und Viehzüchter beheimatet; sie repräsentieren eine Lebensweise, die ins Neolithikum zurückgeht, als die Menschen zuerst Pflanzen und später Tiere domestizierten, während das Beduinentum erst Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. entstanden ist.

"Beduinen" oder Nomaden auf dem Wege der Sesshaftwerdung waren auch die amurritischen⁽⁴²⁾ Gastgeber Sinuhs nicht. Nach der Beschreibung ihres Landes und seiner Speisekarte (Sinuhe B 81-92) hatten sie zwar keine Städte und waren in Stämmen organisiert, trieben aber gleichermassen Ackerbau, Gartenbau und Viehzucht. Es handelt sich bei ihnen um die Überlebenden der Katastrophe, die die Stadtkultur der Frühbronzezeit beendet hatte, und die Nachkommen der nicht-urbanen Bevölkerung des Palästinas im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.⁽⁴³⁾, nicht um die Verursacher der Katastrophe. Um die Wende vom 3. zum 2. Jahrtausend hat es keine amurritische Einwanderung nach Palästina gegeben, sondern eine Auswanderung von Palästina nach Arabien⁽⁴⁴⁾.

(41) Cf. BANNING und KÖHLER-ROLLEFSON, "Ethnoarchaeological Survey", 161; zu Beduinentum und Beduinisierung: DE PLANHOL, *Grundlagen*, 41-53 und *passim*; VF., *Ismael*, 40-43; DERS., *Midian*, Kapitel I 1c.

(42) Vgl. zum Namen des "Fürsten von Rčnw, 'm <'>nš *'Ammu'anaš (E. EDEL in GALLING, *Textbuch*, 3 Anm. 14) den gut belegten altsüdarabischen Personennamen 'm'ns: G. L. HARDING, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Near and Middle East Series, 8; Toronto 1971) 435; und zur "amurritischen" Herkunft der Altsüdaraber VF., "Supplementa Ismaelitica 9.", 44-46; DERS., "West Arabian Place Name Province".

(43) Cf. A. KEMPINSKI, *The Rise of an Urban Culture. The Urbanization of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age 3000-2150 B.C.* (Jerusalem 1978) 31-34; C. S. STEELE, *Early Bronze Age Socio-Political Organization in Southwestern Jordan* (M. A. thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1983) 99-101; S. RICHARD, "The Early Bronze Age: The Rise and Collapse of Urbanism", *BA* 50 (1987) 34-40; VF., "Berg und Tal", 30f.

(44) VF., "Supplementa Ismaelitica 9.", 44-46; DERS., "West Arabian Place Name Province".

Das in Milch gekochte Böckchen — als Festessen für Fürsten, Götter und Gäste — ist möglicherweise auch in Ugarit belegt⁽⁴⁵⁾. Das kann nicht überraschen, bedenkt man, dass die Bevölkerung der neuen Städte der Mittelbronzezeit aus der überlebenden Landbevölkerung der Frühbronzezeit hervorgegangen ist oder, wo die Städte überlebten, sich angesichts des chronischen Geburtendefizits orientalischer Städte aus dieser regeneriert hat. Auch heute ist *mansaf* ein fester Bestandteil der Speisekarten im Ostteil Jerusalems.

Zusammenfassend ist zum Böckchen, das in Milch gekocht wird, festzustellen, dass es sich hierbei um ein spezifisch als Festessen ausgewiesenes Gericht der nicht-urbanen Bevölkerung Palästinas in den letzten 5000 Jahren handelt, das ebenso die Jahrtausende währende kulturelle Kontinuität innerhalb dieser Bevölkerung dokumentiert⁽⁴⁶⁾, wie aus Ex 23,19; 34,26 indirekt hervorgeht, dass das vorstaatliche Israel an dieser Kontinuität partizipiert hat.

IV. Vom Kultverbot zum Speisetabu

Es ist unbestreitbar, dass weite Teile des "Bundesbuches" wie des "Privilegrechts Jahwes" in jene Zeit zurückgehen, als sich Israel aus abgewanderten kanaanäischen Untertanenbauern, den nicht- oder halb-sesshaften Bauern und Viehzüchtern des Gebirges, *outlaws* und kleineren von aussen zugewanderten Gruppen verschiedener Herkunft konstituiert hat. Einige Vorschriften — wie Ex 23,19a; 34,26b — setzen freilich die aufkommende Marktwirtschaft und damit die sozialen Auseinandersetzungen des 9./8. Jh. v. Chr. voraus (s.o). In

⁽⁴⁵⁾ KTU I.23:14; cf. die bei JANOWSKI, "Rez. KEEL, *Böcklein*", 186 m.Anm.7 und 8 referierten Interpretationen (gegen KEEL, *Böcklein*, 36-38).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Cf. H. WEIPPERT, "Amos", 26; VF., "Braut", 129; DERS., "Berg und Tal", 34. — H. WEIPPERT (mündlich) macht darauf aufmerksam, dass, ausgehend von der Spezifikation auf die Milch des Muttertieres, das generelle Verbot, Fleisch in Milch zu kochen, dann leicht verständlich wird, wenn man schon für die Antike eine der rezenten *gamid*-Zubereitung vergleichbare Trocken(sauer)milch-Herstellung ansetzen könnte, bei der nicht mehr feststellbar ist, von welchen Muttertieren die Milch stammt, die in den Kochtopf gegeben wird. Freilich setzt dieser Gedankengang eine Kasuistik voraus, wie sie wohl erst einige Zeit nach dem Deuteronomium hat allgemeine Praxis werden können.

diesem Kontext war ein Anlass zur Niederschrift der überkommenen Rechte und Gebräuche gegeben⁽⁴⁷⁾.

Die Tatsache der Niederschrift belegt allerdings, dass auch diejenigen Teile der Elite des staatlichen Israels, die im Prinzip die konservativ-bäuerlichen Traditionen verteidigten, an der neuen urbanen Kultur partizipierten und in ihrem Gefolge dem bäuerlichen Leben entfremdet wurden, wie schon oben am Fall der Verfasser des Deuteronomiums anzudeuten war. Für diese Kreise mag Ex 23,19b keinen erkennbaren Bezug auf 'Anat oder 'Astart mehr gehabt haben; der Untergang des Reichsheiligtums von Bethel, vielleicht der einzige Ort, an dem 'Anat in Israel überhaupt verehrt wurde, mag ihrer Zeit nähergestanden haben, als es noch die oben vorgeschlagene, konservativst-mögliche Datierung zugibt. Aber das Bundesbuch hat das Gebot noch in seinem ursprünglichen Kontext belassen, und damit dessen historisches Verständnis ermöglicht.

Für die Kompilatoren der Gesetze im Deuteronomium war die Vorschrift so unverständlich geworden, dass sie der Neu-Interpretation bedurfte. Das Verbot ist hier 14,21 wiederholt, wird aber im Zusammenhang erlaubter und verbotener Fleischgerichte aufgeführt (14,3-21). Darin deutet sich ein erster Schritt zur Verallgemeinerung und Ausweitung seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung an. Die zeitgeschichtlichen Bedingungen, unter denen das "Urdeuteronomium" wenn nicht kompiliert — darüber sind die Akten noch nicht geschlossen⁽⁴⁸⁾ — so doch rezipiert und normativ wurde, mögen die Ausweitung des Gebotes gefördert haben.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Damit entfällt der Einwand von JANOWSKI, "Rez. KEEL, *Böcklein*", 187 Anm.9 gegen KEEL. — In die gleiche Zeit führen die Überlegungen von C. DOHMEN, *Das Bilderverbot. Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im Alten Testament* (BBB 62; Königstein/Ts. und Bonn 1985) 241, auch wenn DOHMEN unter dem Begriff des "frühstaatlichen" Israel eine etwas frühere Zeit versteht als Vf.; aber das Königtum Davids und Salomos ist Episode geblieben, nach der das Nordreich für ein Jahrhundert zu "sauidischen", wenn nicht früheren Verhältnissen zurückkehrte, cf. J. P. J. OLIVIER, "In Search of a Capital for the Northern Kingdom", *JNSL* 11 (1984) 126-132.

⁽⁴⁸⁾ Cf. O. KAISER, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Gütersloh 1984) 130-135. Die Annahme der Identität des "Urdeuteronomiums" mit dem Gesetzbuch des Josia wird am prominentesten noch von H. DONNER, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel und seiner Nachbarn in Grundzügen. Teil 2: Von der Königszeit bis zu Alexander dem Grossen. Mit einem Ausblick auf die Geschichte des Judentums bis Bar Kochba* (Göttingen 1986) 350-356 und N. LOHFINK,

Judäa, wie ganz Palästina beiderseits des Jordans, war im 6. oder frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. mit der ersten massiven arabischen Einwanderung konfrontiert, in deren Gefolge sich die nicht-urbane und nicht voll-sesshafte Bevölkerung an seinen Rändern selbst alsbald arabisieren und beduinisieren sollte, wie es am Beispiel der Idumäer besonders deutlich wird⁽⁴⁹⁾. Das aber war, wie oben gezeigt wurde, zugleich die Bevölkerung, die die alte kanaanäische Speisesitte, das Fleisch des Festessens in Milch zu kochen, bis heute bewahrt hat. Hatte das Deuteronomium bei der Wiederholung des Verbotes diese Gruppe im Auge⁽⁵⁰⁾, dann dient auch dieses Gebot — wie die meisten anderen — der Abgrenzung gegen die "Völker" und damit der ethnischen Selbstidentifikation des nachexilischen Judentums⁽⁵¹⁾. Zugleich hätte das alte Verbot damit eine Ausweitung auf das Kochen von Fleisch in jeder Art von Milch erfahren, die zum rabbinischen und heutigen Verständnis dieses Gesetzes überleitet.

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"Zur neueren Diskussion über 2 Kön 22-23", in: DERS. ed., *Das Deuteronomium. Entstehen, Gestalt und Botschaft* (ETL 68; Leuven 1985) 24-48 vertreten; die gewichtigsten Gegenstimmen: E. WÜRTHWEIN, "Die josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium", *ZTK* 73 (1976) 395-423; DERS., *Die Bücher der Könige. 1.Kön.17-2.Kön.25* (ATD 11,2; Göttingen 1984) 447-464; CH. LEVIN, "Joschija im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk", *ZAW* 96 (1984) 350-371.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ VF., *Ismael*, 10 m.Anm.45; 47; 68 m.Anm.338; 90f; 108f; DERS., "Mu'näer und Mëuniter", *WO* 16 (1985) 117, 119f.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Die gleiche Gruppe haben Lev 19,27, dazu VF., "Supplementa Ismaelica 5. Zur Haartracht der alten Araber", *Bibl Not* 22 (1983) 30-33, und Lev 11,4; Dtn 14,7 im Auge.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Cf. zu den Mechanismen ethnischer Selbst-Definition K. A. KAMP und N. YOFFEE, "Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia During the Early Second Millennium B.C.", *BASOR* 237 (1980) 85-104; K. HACKSTEIN, *Ethnizität und Situation: Das Beispiel Jerash, eine vorder-orientalische Kleinstadt* (Phil. Diss. Köln 1986); zur Rolle von Speisesitten: B. HESSE, "Animal Use at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Bronze and Iron Age", *BASOR* 264 (1986) 17.

SOMMAIRE

L'interdit cultuel d'Ex 23,19; 34,26 et Dt 14,21 provient de la vie et des croyances des populations non-urbaines, agricoles, fixées en Canaan aux 3^e et 2^e millénaires av. J.-C. Et probablement Israël provient en majorité de cette population dont il a conservé les représentations et pratiques jusqu'au début du 1^e millénaire av. J.-C. Avec Dt 14,21 s'esquisse l'extension de l'interdit cultuel à l'usage alimentaire, tel qu'il apparaît jusqu'à aujourd'hui dans le judaïsme. Cette extension se comprend sur un fond d'auto-définition et d'auto-affirmation de l'Israël postexilique amené à vivre dans une Palestine peuplée en majorité de non-israélites.

Paul before Agrippa (Acts 26,2-23): Some Considerations

Luke's speeches in Acts always fit the circumstances in which they are placed; and the contexts of these circumstances are carefully chosen for their potential to contribute to the meaning Luke intends his entire book to have⁽¹⁾. Paul's speech before Agrippa (Acts 26) can be studied beneficially from the point of view of its circumstances, its context; these factors can help explain the structure of the speech, the peculiarities of its manner of argumentation and its contribution to the entire book of Acts (not to speak of the entire Lucan work)⁽²⁾.

I. Paul's Opening Remark

Herod Agrippa II, great-grandson of Herod the Great, represents for Luke a link between Rome and Judaism. Paul can say about Agrippa, "King Agrippa is well acquainted with these matters [which are at the basis of Paul's just-completed discourse]... I am convinced that none of this escapes him... Do you believe the prophets, King Agrippa? I am sure you do believe them" (Acts 26,26-27). It is this knowledge of the King that Festus counts on to help formulate some explanation which should justify Paul's appearance before the Emperor; Paul is even clearer than Festus when he de-

⁽¹⁾ A caution to this introductory statement is suggested by M. DIBELIUS: "The relevance of each of these speeches arises only partly from the specific situation... they do not agree in all respects with the narrative part of the text", *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed H. GREEVEN) (London 1956) 176.

⁽²⁾ The most thorough study of Paul's speech before Agrippa II is that of R. F. O'TOOLE, *The Christological Climax of Paul's Defense* (AnBib 78 Rome 1978). This work considers many problems besides those of this essay, and presents both a good history of the studies of the speech and incisive comments about the structure, vocabulary, and argument of the speech, as well as its relevance to the rest of Acts and to the Third Gospel.

scribes the king as one "expert in all the customs and disputes of the Jews" (26,3)⁽³⁾. Herod Agrippa, then, is a listener welcome both to Festus and to Paul, for he can understand what Paul will use from Judaism to defend himself and he can help decide what of Paul's self-defense might be offensive to the Emperor. Herod, then, is a circumstance which immediately signals to the reader that what Luke will present is a speech which draws heavily on Jewish theology for its meaning.

II. The Ever-present Accusations

After the introductory remarks of vv. 2-3, Paul embarks on the body of his speech⁽⁴⁾. Of the introductory remarks, however, there is one which is very important for it sets the reader directly into the context of this speech. Paul refers at the very beginning of his discourse to "all the things of which I am being accused by the Jews" (v. 2). This formulation indicates that the accusations are plural in number and are still being urged against Paul. So much are they still present to Paul that one can expect them to form the matrix out of which Paul's discourse will emerge as response⁽⁵⁾. It is necessary

(³) Concerning Agrippa and his competence in Jewish matters, cf. O'TOOLE, *Climax*, 17; *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. 4, (translation and commentary by K. LAKE and H. CADBURY) (London 1933) 314; E. HAENCHEN, *The Acts of the Apostles* (translated from 14th German edition, 1965; rev. by R. MCL. WILSON) (Oxford 1971) 682.

(⁴) The outline of the speech, suggested by O'TOOLE, *Climax*, 31, is:

- v. 1 = address
- vv. 2-3 = captatio benevolentiae
- vv. 4-8 = Part I
 - A vv. 4-5
 - B vv. 6-8
- vv. 9-23 = Part II
 - A vv. 9-21
 - B vv. 22-23

The very structure of his own book suggests that, in addition to the above structure, one should understand a dynamic relationship between vv. 4-5 and vv. 9-21 and a similar relationship between vv. 6-8 and vv. 22-23.

(⁵) O'TOOLE, *Climax*, differs significantly in regard to the influence of the previous charges upon Paul's present speech: "In our speech we come to a

both to have them clearly in mind now and to understand why it can be said that they "still" plague Paul.

III. The Legal History of Paul Since His Capture (from Acts 21,27)

With Chapter 21 begins the Pauline internment which lasts right up to the end of the book of Acts. What prompted this imprisonment was a charge which centered on the claim that Paul had brought a Greek into a part of the Temple area forbidden, under pain of death, to non-Jews. However, it is clear from what his captors say that Paul's act against the Temple was only a flagrant example of his general teaching against the people, the law and the temple. It is really this persistent teaching which flames the crowd's desire to get rid of Paul (Acts 21,28-29).

To be able to make a better judgment about wrong of which Paul might be guilty, the Roman authority had Paul face, not those who captured him in the Temple area, but the Sanhedrin. It is important to remember that, at an earlier stage in Acts, Peter and John were imprisoned because they implied, by saying that Jesus was raised from the dead, that resurrection from the dead was believable (Acts 4,1-3). Those who arranged for the arrest of Peter and John were the Sadducees; they were the ones who, whatever else the Sanhedrinists thought about the Christians, insisted that the Sanhedrin force the Christians not to speak anymore about a risen Jesus (Acts 4,18).

When, then, Paul is brought before the Sanhedrin by Lysias,

decisive turning point as regards the accusations against Paul; before our speech, every accusation against Paul has been answered (37)... so in our speech Luke's readers are ready to move smoothly from all charges against Paul to that which Luke sees as the real charge, Paul's hope in the resurrection" (39). A different approach is that of F. VELTMAN, "Though the opening framework does not specifically deal with the charges, it is obvious... that it is in reference to the charges that the hearing is being held", "The Defense Speeches of Paul in Acts", *Perspectives on Luke-Acts* (ed. C. H. TALBERT) (Danville, VA 1978) 255. Along the same lines is the comment of J. ROLOFF, *Hechos de los Apóstoles* (trans. by D. Mínguez) (Madrid 1984) 468, "Pablo va a limitar su defensa a la refutación de los cargos presentados por los judíos", though he, like others, thinks vv. 4-8 ultimately concern the resurrection of Jesus (469).

Paul immediately claims that, if there are enemies here, they are those who want to try him for his belief in the resurrection of the dead (Acts 23,6). Clearly, the charge has changed, at least as far as Paul sees the matter. Whereas he had been charged with teaching against the people, the law and the Temple, he is now charged, or so he claims, with belief in the resurrection of the dead. Putting the accusation at the level of the resurrection of the dead throws the Sanhedrin into a division of theological opinion, between Sadducee and Pharisee, which stymies any further value to this inquiry (Acts 23,7-10); Lysias calls a halt to this meeting (Acts 23,11) without resolving Paul's guilt or innocence, and so Paul is held over for a more formal investigation by Lysias' superior, Felix, who resides in Caesarea (Acts 23,23-24.27.30.34-35).

In the trial before Felix, the one true trial of Paul in Acts, the High Priest, president of the Sanhedrin, and a few of the other members of the Sanhedrin attend; they are represented by an attorney, Tertullus (Acts 24,1). From Tertullus' words, it is clear that the accusations against Paul are essentially those shouted out by those who earlier captured Paul and his Greek companion in the Temple area: he teaches against the people, the law and the temple (Acts 21,28-29). Changes in the formulation of this charge are due to the fact that Tertullus wants the Roman official to see that Paul is just as much a revolutionary against Roman peace as he is against Jewish religious tenets; Tertullus is more certain of winning a guilty verdict by using the formula of political revolution⁽⁶⁾.

When Paul takes his turn to speak, he first counter-charges that he created no disturbance at any time during his last visit to Jerusalem, whether in the Temple or anywhere else (Acts 24, 12-13.18). Actually, he notes, the men of Asia who had captured him in the Temple area are not now here to accuse him (Acts 24,19). If one is to listen to those who are here, the Sanhedrinists, then, Paul insists, the charge is not one of disturbing the peace, but of belief in the resurrection of the dead (Acts 24,20-21). The irony here, Paul notes, is that the members of the Sanhedrin who have taken the trouble to come to Caesarea to argue against Paul are people who do believe in

⁽⁶⁾ Tertullus pictures Paul as "troublemaker who stirs up sedition among the Jews all over the world. He is a ringleader of the sect of the Nazoreans" (Acts 24,5).

a resurrection of the dead (Acts 24,15). Felix should know this fact, for it will make clear to him how influential in the Sanhedrin are those who have instigated the attack of the Sanhedrin against him; even members who believe in resurrection from the dead are willing to condemn Paul, if the Sadducees pressure them to do so.

Up to this point, then, there are really two sets of charges presented to the reader. First, there is the accusation against Paul that he teaches against the law, the people and the temple — a perfect example of which is his brazen defilement of the Temple through his Greek friend. Then, there is the accusation against Paul that he believes in resurrection from the dead, a belief directly contradictory to the small, but influential party of the Sadducees. One might try to forge a link between Sadducean outrage at Paul and anger at him from other Jewish leaders by noting that within and beneath the charge that Paul teaches against the law, the people and the Temple lies the figure of the risen Jesus who is at the root of any change regarding “people, law, temple”. But such a link as this is not apparent among the accusations as yet, and so the two sets of charges continue as unconnected accusations against Paul.

Felix cannot bring himself to find Paul guilty (Acts 24,22,27); in this way Luke signals the ineffectiveness of the accusations. On the other hand, Felix never sets Paul free, and, when Paul tries to explain himself to Agrippa with a view to showing that he deserves his freedom, Paul cannot but start again with an eye to those charges which have hounded him ever since his capture. Thus, we find that his first words concern “all the things of which I am accused”⁽⁷⁾.

The justification of the scene before Agrippa centers around Paul's request for trial before the Emperor (Acts 25,11); to prepare Agrippa for this meeting with Paul, Festus describes Paul as one who is concerned with “disputes within the Jewish religion and with a certain Jesus, who has died, but, Paul says, is now alive” (Acts 25,19). This description can be meager because it trusts in the reader's knowledge of the fuller accusations which have been given since Chapter 21; certainly the upsetting teaching of Paul concerning “law, people and temple” and the belief in resurrection of the dead can be considered to be summed up in the jejune phrase “disputes within

⁽⁷⁾I do not think I am pressing too much on the present tense of *egkalousmai* (v. 2).

the Jewish religion". The words of Festus to Agrippa also mention the dead and risen Jesus; for the first time in the accusations reference is made explicitly to dispute about this Jesus — though Paul, in hopes of quashing the concrete charge arising from his association with a Greek in a restricted temple area, had recourse to the authority of the risen Jesus to justify his friendship with a non-Jew (Acts 22,1-21). Festus' words, however, suggest nothing more than those charges which have plagued Paul ever since his capture in the Temple area. Thus, one is led to understand that the charges which have been held over from the time of Lysias (Acts 21-23) and Felix (Acts 24) are the charges which Paul must still address, if he hopes ever to go free.

IV. Paul Answers the First Charge

It seems reasonable to say that the end of verse 8 marks the end of the first part of Paul's speech⁽⁸⁾. In the light of the persistent accusations against Paul, this first part of his speech seems very much an attempt to respond to the charge which Paul claims lies at the root of that Sanhedrinist anger which has been inspired by the Sadducees: his belief in the resurrection of the dead. It is this history of the accusations which suggests this way of understanding what Paul is up to in verses 4-8⁽⁹⁾.

Indeed, in regard to this accusation, Paul is not satisfied any longer to identify it as a root of dissension (as he has been satisfied to do up to this point). Paul now goes on the attack, first by showing that Christian belief in resurrection is simply a way to achieve what "our fathers" had been promised by God, that resurrection is

(8) Cf. outline of O'TOOLE, *Climax*, n. 4, for an example of this type of division. HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, seems less willing to speak of a major break here at v. 8 (text on 684 and footnote 9 on 683); similarly, H. CONZELMANN, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Tübingen 1972) 148. E. JACQUIER, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Études Bibliques; Paris 1926) 704, suggests that the divisions of the speech should be: 2-3; 4-11; 12-18; 19-23.

(9) Again, the basis of this opinion is that Luke has kept distinct, on the one hand, the resurrection from the dead from the teachings of Paul against people, law and temple, and, on the other hand, the resurrection from the dead from any mention (until 25,19) of the resurrection of Jesus.

what the Twelve Tribes must hope for if they hope to have what was promised to our fathers. For the first time, then, Paul presents a formidable counter-argument to the Sadducees: they say that resurrection is not a datum of revelation to Israel, whereas Paul says that it is necessitated by the nature of the gift promised to the fathers of all Jews and it is presumed to be the means by which the Twelve Tribes hope to obtain what the fathers had been promised⁽¹⁰⁾.

After presenting this challenging argument to the Sadducean view, Paul turns to his audience which is made up of people in no way under the sway of the Sadducees⁽¹¹⁾. To these he asks why they might find resurrection of the dead unbelievable. In this way, Paul challenges both Sadducee and pagan to review their convictions about the resurrection of the dead — presumably with a view to agreeing with Paul, at least to letting him go free from this charge.

Given the purpose Paul has in this first part of his speech, the reader understands what role verses 4 and 5 play. They present the life of Paul as a life lived at the very center of Judaism, a life of the Pharisee. Such a life, which should be acknowledged by all as a reality, justifies Paul's use in his main verses 6-7 of the plural "our". It is to "our fathers" that God made a promise; it is "our

⁽¹⁰⁾ Without reference to discussions among exegetes as to the precise meaning of *epangelia* in v. 6, it seems satisfactory to identify *epangelia* with *klêron en tois hêgiasmenois* in v. 18; for such a "share" one can presume, on the basis, e.g., of Luke 20,35, that resurrection is the indispensable means.

⁽¹¹⁾ There is disagreement among exegetes as to who is meant by this unique use of the second person plural. CONZELMANN, *Apostelgeschichte*, 147, suggests, "Der Wechsel der Person deutet die tatsächliche heutige Differenz von Christen und Juden an: Stil des Missionsappells". G. SCHNEIDER, *Gli Atti degli Apostoli* (trans. by V. Gatti) (Brescia 1986) 493, substantially agrees with Conzelmann. In a similar direction goes the interpretation of O'TOOLE, *Climax*, 20, "To whom does this 'you' (pl) refer? Certainly not only to Agrippa". Thereupon O'Toole seems to say that this "you" includes Luke's readers. JACQUIER, *Actes*, 707, indicates that Paul's use of "you" (pl) is a reference to "ses auditeurs", but it becomes clear that Jacquier, 707-708, presumes these hearers are Jews, for he thinks books of the Old Testament which contain references to resurrection from the dead are the books of Paul's audience. I. H. MARSHALL, *The Acts of the Apostles* (London 1980) 392, thinks that the "you" should be understood to include Pharisees and Sadducees, "The question is asked in general terms. For Pharisees there should have been no difficulty... The Sadducees could well be asked why they regarded it as something God could not accomplish...".

Twelve Tribes" which pray each day to enjoy this promise — and Paul deserves a part of this promise because, as his life has shown, he belongs to the "fathers", to the "Twelve Tribes".

Verses 4-8, then, play their roles as Paul tries to counter the charge of Sadducean source which has kept Paul on trial up till now and indeed will bring him as a prisoner to Rome: he believes in a resurrection of the dead which is the *sine qua non* by which the promise made to the fathers and longed for by the Twelve Tribes can be enjoyed, in a resurrection of the dead to which his pagan hearers, Paul thinks, cannot convincingly object.

V. Paul Answers the Second Charge

1. *His obedience*

Apart from his belief in the resurrection of the dead, Paul has been on trial because the men of Asia (and perhaps the majority of the Sanhedrin?) are convinced that he "teaches against the people, the law and the temple" (Acts 21,27-28). Since this is a much more far-reaching accusation, Paul will take more time to answer it; indeed, whereas his response to the first charge lasted only five verses, this response will range over fifteen verses⁽¹²⁾.

Paul's first line of defense in regard to what he had taught and preached throughout the Mediterranean is simply his statement that he had been directed by a heavenly vision to do what he did, and he could not but obey (v. 19); could anyone reasonably do otherwise? Paul had used this very same heavenly experience (Acts 22)

⁽¹²⁾ At least in partial accord with the thesis of this essay, that vv. 4-8 answer the charge of belief in resurrection as such, and not that specifically of Jesus, is the view of R. FABRIS, *Atti degli Apostoli* (Roma 1984) 671, "L'autore si riferisce alla risurrezione dei morti o ha presente la risurrezione di Gesù? ... Per ora tutto l'interesse dell'autore è di mostrare l'assurdità della situazione di Paolo: egli è sotto processo per iniziativa dei giudei dei quali condivide la stessa speranza". Thus, Fabris does not rule out the claim that vv. 4-8 deal solely with the question of the resurrection of all from the dead. Quite against the opinion of this essay that vv. 9-23 are a response to the accusation of preaching against people, law and temple is O'TOOLE'S view, *Climax*, 37, "... before our speech every accusation (excluding that of Paul's hope in the resurrection) has been answered" (parenthesis mine).

when he first tried to justify his friendliness to non-Jews (though he never argued that this vision permitted him to bring a Greek into a part of the Temple forbidden to non-Jews). In that earlier account of this experience, Paul had indicated that his life had changed in accord with nothing of greater significance than the will of God itself. Concretely, however, this "will of God" was translated (Acts 22, 14-15) to mean that Paul should become a witness to the Jesus who speaks to Paul in this heavenly vision (to the Jesus whose importance can be understood fully only by a review of the entire Lucan presentation up to Chapter 22). In this earlier vision, then, Paul insisted that his life was directed solely by Jesus, the expression of Yahweh's will; as such his life, he implies, should not be challenged, but rather should be learned from.

Before Agrippa, Paul once again relates this heavenly vision in order to draw the basic lesson for Agrippa now which he had drawn for his fellow Jews earlier: his life is simply the carrying out of the divine will.

As Paul narrates this heavenly encounter to Agrippa, however, he expands on the nature of what Paul's mission was to encompass. This mission highlights two aspects: first, it is a mission which serves to encourage mankind to turn from Satan to God (v. 18); secondly, it is a mission which involves at all points of its fulfillment a preaching about Jesus⁽¹³⁾. Thus, obedience to the vision involves both preaching of repentance and witness to Jesus, the one through whom the effects of repentance are to be had. Given that the heavenly vision identified Paul's mission in these two ways, obedience to the vision demanded preaching of repentance and witness to Jesus.

Agrippa must see that, whatever Paul's critics might charge against him, the motive force behind Paul was the divinity — and no one can find fault with obedience to the divinity.

It is important to note here that the very form Paul uses within verses 14-23 supports Paul's argument. In biblical literature it is common to report, first, a heavenly directive, then, immediately, its fulfillment; this formula reveals the source of the human action

(¹³) Cf. such references to Jesus as "I appear... in order to designate you" (v. 16), "my servant and my witness" (v. 16), "what you have seen of me and what I will show you" (v. 16), "I have delivered you" (v. 17), "I am sending you" (v. 18), "forgiveness through faith in me and a share among the sanctified through faith in me" (v. 18).

which is visible to all and, as well, the logical response demanded by the divine command. The very tightness of the formula, command-execution, where the words of the command are repeated in the notice of execution, reveals how purely the obedience reflects the demands of the divinity. In this example *ōphthēn* (v. 16) (perhaps with the help of *ouranothen* v. 13) corresponds to *ouraniq̄ optasiq̄* (v. 19), *ek tou laou kai ek tōn ethnōn eis hous egō apostellō se* (v. 17) corresponds to *tois en Damaskō... kai Hierosolymois... kai tois ethnesin* (v. 19), *epistrepσαι... eis ton Theon* (v. 18) corresponds to *epistrephein epi ton Theon* (v. 20), *martyra* (v. 16) is exemplified in *hestēka martyromenos* (v. 22). And there are correspondences of idea, if not of word, between the words of Jesus and the execution of them as reported by Paul⁽¹⁴⁾.

(14) In "The Role of Commissioning Accounts in Acts", in *Perspectives*, B. HUBBARD says, "Commission accounts are situated by Luke at key points in his story of the Church's origins and indicate continued divine guidance and protection" 188; "... they give Luke's second volume its theological authentication" 198; cf. also in the same volume, D. MIESNER, "The Missionary Journeys, Narrative: Patterns and Implications", esp. 212-213. Hubbard describes again the literary pattern or form for these commissioning accounts. What this essay proposes is not intended to contradict Hubbard's claims about the commissioning form. Rather, it calls attention simply to a style of reporting, used in the Old Testament in particular, which links vocabulary of command to vocabulary of fulfilment of command, and thereby indicates obedience to what was commanded. Some examples of this are:

1. "Put your hand under my thigh and I will make you swear..." (Gen 24,2b-3a). . . . "So the servant put his hand under the thigh of his master and swore..." (Gen 24,9).

2. "Finish the bridal week for this one, and then I will give you the other, too, in return for another seven years of service with me" (Gen 29,27). "He finished the bridal week for Leah, and then Laban gave him his daughter Rachel in marriage... Jacob then consummated his marriage with Rachel also... Thus he remained in Laban's service another seven years" (Gen 29,28,30).

3. "Now that your father and brothers have come to you, the land of Egypt is at your disposal; settle your father and brothers on the pick of the land"... "As Pharaoh had ordered, Joseph settled his father and brothers and gave them holdings in Egypt on the pick of the land, in the region of Rameses" (Gen 47,5,6,11).

4. "Joseph, son of David, have no fear about taking Mary as your wife. It is by the Holy Spirit that she has conceived this child. She is to have a son and you are to name him Jesus..." (Matt 1,20-21). "When Joseph

2. *His preaching of repentance*

Paul first argues that what he did throughout the Mediterranean is unimpeachable because it was simply the fulfilment of the command of the heavenly vision (v. 19). This fulfilment is developed with the statement that Paul, first in Damascus and Jerusalem, then to the nations, called for repentance, return to God and deeds which corresponded to sincere repentance (v. 20). Summing up his years of preaching this way covers over the significant differences between what Paul (and Christians generally) thought were deeds befitting repentance and what Jews thought were deeds befitting repentance. One need only recall the decisions taken at the meeting in Jerusalem (Acts 15) to realize how differently return to God is interpreted on the level of actions. Even Jewish Christians winced at Paul's detailing for gentiles what the "new way" entailed (Acts 21,20-22.24b). Moreover, the lessons of Acts 7, concerning the temple, and of Acts 10-11, concerning the equality of Jew and gentile, though not involving Paul himself, certainly are intended by Luke to be carried over into the general preaching that went on in the years after the insights of these chapters had been expressed in Acts. One should include, finally, in this list of deeds which are disharmonious with contemporary Judaism the encouragements of Jesus to acts of which his contemporaries disapproved (e.g., Luke 11,42.46; 6,24-25.27.35).

Thus, whereas the heavenly vision encouraged Paul to guide people from darkness to light, from Satan to God (without specifying just what deeds this guidance demanded), and whereas Paul then states to Agrippa that he did nothing more than urge people to repentance and to its proper deeds, Paul's opponents need to be heard as to what exactly Paul taught as "deeds appropriate to repentance and return to God". It is Paul's further defense, however,

awoke he did as the angel of the Lord had directed him and *took her as his wife*. He had no relations with her at any time before *she bore a son, whom he named Jesus*" (Matt 1,24-25).

5. "'In the name of Jesus Christ the Nazorean, *walk!*' Then Peter took him by the right hand and pulled him up. Immediately, the beggar's feet and ankles became strong; he jumped up, stood for a moment, then began to *walk around*" (Acts 3,6c-8a).

As can be seen from the last example, from Acts, Luke feels free to fill out the form with his own additions; this is also true of the way he relates Acts 26,17-18 to 26,19-20.

that all he did was what the vision told him to do: preach repentance and the deeds befitting it.

In the face of this particular form of defense it is quite possible that Luke intends the reader to hear in Paul's words a resonance with the description Luke had given long ago in his first volume regarding the glorious figure of John the Baptist. There, John, too, was seen as one who called for repentance as a way to prepare for a meeting with God (Luke 3,3-6); there, too, Luke, unlike the other evangelists, spelled out, at least in some concrete form, just what were the deeds which befitted repentance (Luke 3,10-14). One might even add that all John's advice about these deeds centered on justice, respect, charity, with no attention paid to other aspects of Jewish religious activity. This Lucan emphasis on certain expressions of repentance foreshadow a lessening of interest in other religious concerns with temple and the privileges derived from being a chosen, separated people. In the early part of the Gospel, then, John the Baptist corresponds with the later preaching of Paul, accused of teaching against the law, the people and the temple — and it would be Luke's hope that the authority and illustriousness of John would be something of a support and approval for the teaching of Paul to the degree to which it corresponds to what John had taught.

3. *His capture in the Temple*

Earlier, the accusations against Paul had been divided into two: Paul was accused of belief in resurrection of the dead (Acts 23,6) and Paul was accused of teaching against the people, the law and the temple (Acts 21,28). A concrete example of the latter accusation, and the actual point of friction which caused Paul's first moments of capture, was the claim that Paul had brought a Greek into a part of the temple reserved only for Jews (Acts 21,28). In his speech before Agrippa Paul now refers to this incident, but in his own way. First, Paul makes no mention of the Greek. Secondly, he argues that his capture in the temple was due to his preaching repentance and return to God with deeds befitting this conversion. Indeed, he replies to his arrest only after he has made clear that he simply preached repentance, as instructed by the heavenly vision, and that his arrest was a response to this justified preaching. Once again, Paul describes his activity in a way which should win him freedom, but with which his accusers would violently disagree.

4. *The care of God*

A fourth element in Paul's defense is his claim that God has protected him "up until this very day". At first glance, this claim, while certainly something in favor of Paul's innocence if proven true, seems just an assertion which can be as gratuitously denied as it is gratuitously declared. Indeed, Paul offers no proof for this assertion. Yet, active in the reader's memory is the number of times throughout Acts, beginning with the very first description of the newly baptized servant in Damascus, that this witness of Jesus has been snatched from the grasp of those who want to stop his preaching (cf., e.g., Acts 9,23-25.29,30; 14,19-20; 17,13-14; 18,9-10). Indeed, Luke has laid down a formidable series of examples by which Paul's present remark to Agrippa can very well be attested; it is in light of this earlier editorial activity that Paul can now pass over lightly the proof of his claim to God's pervasive protection⁽¹⁵⁾.

Noteworthy here is the dynamic aspect intended in Paul's description of his work, of God's care; here, Paul's words span the great period of time from the moment of the heavenly vision until this moment when he stands before Agrippa. Always was his work that of urging repentance, always did he enjoy, indeed right up to now, the care of God. This time-span stands in sharp contrast to that other period of time when Paul thought it was his duty to act contrary to the name of Jesus (Acts 8,3; 9,1-2; 26,9-11).

5. *Jesus, Lord and Messiah*

Paul's defense up to this point has centered on his obedience to the heavenly vision: that he obeyed the mandate of this heavenly vision to "turn Jew and gentile alike from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to God" by preaching repentance, return to God and the deeds appropriate to this conversion. But during his description of his opposition to Christians, Paul identified as the source of trouble between Jew and Christian, not what the Christians taught, but the figure of their leader, Jesus of Nazareth. And so now, Paul turns attention to the object of his persecution (v. 8) and the central figure of his preaching, the figure of Jesus.

⁽¹⁵⁾ It is possible to consider the protection Paul speaks of here as that protection afforded him by God since his arrest in Chapter 21.

Nowhere in the accusations does the figure of Jesus surface, until one hears the rather unsophisticated information Festus gives Agrippa: "They differ with Paul over issues within their own religion and about a Jesus who they say is dead, but Paul says is alive" (Acts 25,19).

In Festus' phrasing there is no intimate relationship expressed between the Christian views about issues within the Jewish religion and the figure of Jesus; indeed, the object of many Jews was to stop the disruptive teaching of Paul, without concern for Paul's ideas of Jesus so long as these ideas had no connection with his destructive teaching. For Paul, however, the debate about the way to salvation cannot stay on the level of teaching; it must go deeper to discuss the authority, the justification for any difference that occurs between Judaism and the new way. To "go deeper", however, means to bring forward and place in the forefront of Agrippa's attention the figure of Jesus who is the root cause and explanation of all that Paul has done up to this moment.

Paul's speech attends to Jesus in two phases; Jesus's own words are cited in the vision of verses 14-18, and then, in verses 22-23, reference is made to the august figure of the Messiah, believed to be Jesus of Nazareth. Attention belongs first to the self-description of Jesus in his vision to Paul.

a) The Vision (vv. 14-18)

To the Jesus of the vision belong such activities as commanding Paul to act, appearing to Paul to designate him to be servant and witness, having Paul as his own servant and witness, showing things to Paul in the future⁽¹⁶⁾, saving or selecting⁽¹⁷⁾ Paul from the Jews and gentiles, sending Paul to open eyes so that people turn from Satan, so that, through belief in Jesus, they may receive forgiveness of sin and a share among the sanctified. Thus, Jesus is lord of Paul, his servant; sender of Paul as his witness and object of Paul's witness; the master who commands, who reveals, who saves or selects,

⁽¹⁶⁾ HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, 686, calls the reader's attention to these visions: Acts 16,9f; 17,23; 18,9; 22,17ff; 23,11.

⁽¹⁷⁾ For M. Grosvenor in M. ZERWICK and M. GROSVENOR, *A Gramatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament* (Rome 1974) 445, "rescued" is the preferred translation of *exairoumenos*; HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, 686, agrees.

who sends; the one through belief in whom sins are forgiven and eternal happiness is obtained.

Former accounts of this vision revealed just some of the above-mentioned functions. In Luke's first presentation of this divine intervention in Paul's life, the words of the vision were extremely limited: Paul was simply to go to Damascus and there await instructions (Acts 9,6). Thus, nothing of the revelation described for Agrippa is given in the first account of the vision, except of course that supreme control over Paul's life so characteristic of the divine authority. Indeed, though it is true that Ananias learns something of Paul's future role on behalf of Jesus, a "vessel of election" by which Jesus's name would be brought to all the world and a "vessel" who would suffer much (Acts 9,15-16), Ananias is never reported to have told Paul even this much about Jesus's plans for Paul (despite the fact that Paul was to await instructions in Damascus). Paul's ignorance, an instance of his reduction to total dependence, serves as a message from Luke to the reader at this juncture of Acts; to help convey this message, Jesus of this vision leaves Paul in the dark as to his designs: Paul the active, dynamic force against Jesus is reduced to blind attendance on the command of the Lord.

If it served Luke's goal in Acts 9 to have the vision of Jesus reveal so little to Paul, it likewise serves his goal in Acts 22 to have Paul learn not much, though a little, more. For in Acts 22, Paul is trying to have the Jews understand that, if he in any way departed from the expectations of Judaism, this departure was to be laid at the feet of this Jesus of the vision. Thus, the vision, which interrupts and changes Paul's entire life, leaves him with the pregnant words: "... you will be told about all the things it has been appointed for you to do" (Acts 22,10). In Acts 22, as in Acts 9, however, an intermediary role is given to Ananias, for the figure of Ananias, pictured as the eminent Jew of Damascus, should help achieve the goal of Paul's speech here: that his listeners be won over to the conviction that Paul is trustworthy and thus innocent of any wrongdoing against Israel.

Unlike Acts 9, here Ananias reveals to Paul certain things which indeed correspond to what Paul will later tell Agrippa: that Paul sees and hears Jesus, that he is to be witness for Jesus to all men of what he has seen and heard from Jesus (Acts 22,14-15). What is different here from what will be reported to Agrippa is that here Paul is said to have been designated by God to see and hear Jesus and to be his

witness; later (Acts 26,16), Agrippa learns only that Jesus has designated Paul to be his own servant and witness of what Paul will learn of Jesus and be shown about him — the role of “God of our fathers”, so useful in Paul’s attempt to win over his fellow Jews, will be missing in Paul’s speech to Agrippa.

Even though at least the reader in Acts 9 and even though Paul in Acts 22 learn something of the role Paul will play in the divine plan of salvation, it is through Ananias that this knowledge is conveyed. Now, in Acts 26, Paul does away with the intermediacy of Ananias in order to underline the directness and divinity of the authority which stands behind all that Paul subsequently did in his life.

Against the contents of the earlier accounts (Acts 9 and 22) regarding the heavenly vision, the reader sees in Acts 26 the overall plan into which Paul, and indeed Jesus himself, fit. If Paul is to be servant and witness, sent to open eyes so that people may return to God, Jesus is the one whose role is to designate Paul for this role, the one who will guide him by revelations, the one through belief in whom people will have the forgiveness of sins and a share among the sanctified. With Acts 26, then, it is clear that, if one disputes the teachings of Paul, one must be ready to confront the very source of those teachings who is, while teacher and Lord of Paul, also the means through whom sin is forgiven and life after death is enjoyed.

Paul’s appeal to this vision as the force which moved him and which he could not not obey is an appeal by which he asks his audience to consider that all his teaching, unpalatable as it may be for contemporary Judaism, is rooted in the divine intervention and directives. As Jesus’s goal was revelation which should lead to forgiveness of sins and a share among the sanctified, so Paul’s goal was the same, since he simply mediated Jesus’s teaching and person, for he was simply Jesus’s servant and witness.

b) Messiah (vv. 22-23)

As noted earlier, verses 19-23 follow the biblical form of reporting obedience to divine injunctions⁽¹⁸⁾. Certainly, in defense of

(18) Cf. footnote 14 and the texts it comments upon.

Paul's actions, his teachings are seen as the carrying out of the divine plan which involves repentance and forgiveness of sins. But it can also be said that in all times and circumstances he has acted as servant and witness of Jesus — again in accord with the vision which designated him for this role.

Now, in light of the words of the vision, Paul is justified in speaking of his mission as a mission to call for repentance. But it is not too much of a leap of logic to describe this mission in another way, a way which has the Messiah of Israel as the subject of the proclamation regarding salvation. It is this leap which Paul now takes to complete his speech, this change into a new key. For, in a real sense, what the Jews have objected to is not so much the teaching of Paul, but in reality nothing less than the proclamation by the Messiah himself.

On one level, one might insist with Paul that he stay within the limits designated by the revelation of the vision: he is the witness on behalf of Jesus. Yet, it is against these very words that Paul reformulates the expression of the reality which is occurring throughout the Mediterranean. If it was truly Jesus who healed the lame man of Acts 3 and if one is to call directly to the Lord Jesus for salvation, then it is conceivable that it is Jesus who takes such an active part in the conveying of the offer of salvation that he can be said to proclaim it in union with his witness⁽¹⁹⁾.

It must be said that this formulation, which makes the Messiah the proclaimer, is novel in the Lucan volumes. Certainly, early in the Gospel Jesus could be called the light for the gentiles (2,32), but this need not be understood to say that Jesus would actually be the one who would proclaim light to them, as Paul phrases it to Agrippa. At the end of the Gospel Jesus insists that it is necessary that in the name of the Messiah will penance for the forgiveness of sins be asked of all people (24,47) but this is far from saying that the Messiah himself will do the asking, as Paul suggests to Agrippa.

For all that, and especially for all the obvious patterns in Acts that the disciples do the actual preaching as they represent Jesus,

⁽¹⁹⁾ According to O'TOOLE, *Climax*, 119, "(Christ) is with and in Paul proclaiming the light". A. WIKENHAUSER, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (Regensburg 1956) 272, interprets, "... (durch seine Sendboten) Licht (= Erleuchtung, v. 18) verkünde".

Paul feels justified in saying that it is the Messiah who proclaims light to the nations. Perhaps what Paul gives here is the result of Christian reflection which saw a just combination of texts about God's servant, spoken of in Isaiah: this servant was intended by God to be a light for the Gentiles (e.g., Isa 42,61) as well as someone who would announce a year of favor (Isa 61,2), a function intended at first to be performed in Israel, but then extended to all the nations (Isa 49,6). However Paul arrived at the concept of the risen Messiah as one who announces light, it seems clear that, in the light of his insistence, the reader is urged to an ever closer identification of the Messiah with the preaching process, by which power for salvation is given through the preaching (cf. Rom 1,16-17; 1 Cor 1,18).

In the last words of his discourse to Agrippa, Paul never refers directly, but only obliquely to Jesus. He prefers to keep his references here to the figure of the Messiah of the Jewish scriptures; it is this person who will proclaim light to the world. Yet, Paul clearly identifies in his own mind the figure of Jesus with the figure of Messiah. Why not speak directly and conclusively here about Jesus?

It is from verse 22b that the reader learns of Paul's preoccupation here. Paul had earlier described, through the words of the heavenly vision, a labor of a lifetime to "open eyes", to "turn people from darkness to light". The Messiah of God, Isaiah had predicted, would open the eyes of the blind (Isa 42,7), and so Paul's obedience to the vision of Jesus is nothing less than the fulfillment of that expectation whereby the Messiah would announce light to all the world. What has happen through Paul, then, is to be recognized as the completion of what the Jewish scriptures said would happen. In this way the Pauline preaching and teaching is confirmed as valid, indeed long awaited, by the Jewish tradition. It is Paul's assertion here, as in verse 20, that what he has done throughout the Mediterranean corresponds, on the one hand, with the will of the one who appeared in heavenly vision to him, and, on the other hand, with the expectations of the divinely inspired Jewish scriptures. It is to invoke the authority of these scriptures which spoke only of the Messiah, without specifying that he is Jesus of Nazareth, that Paul in these last verses identifies his mission as the mission, not of Jesus, but of the Messiah of Israel.

Yet, one who has read Acts cannot fail to see now the hard-

earned results of Christian meditation upon the Jewish scriptures⁽²⁰⁾. Paul speaks here not only of a Messiah who announces light to the gentiles, but also of a Messiah who arrives at this role through suffering and resurrection. One cannot forget that this is the last major speech Luke has planned for this book. Thus, he takes the opportunity, in the manner of a summing up, to formulate in a few words what he has labored to express both through Gospel and through Acts: that the definition of Messiah, if the scriptures are read carefully, includes three elements: suffering, resurrection from the dead (cf. Acts 17,3), resumption of the offer of salvation, first to Israel, then to the gentiles. Thus, though the vision which authorized, indeed commanded, the preaching which the Jews found so distasteful, should be enough to justify before Agrippa the work of Paul, Luke wants to show this work as the culmination of that life, of those stages of life, which the Messiah experienced in Galilee, Jerusalem and at the right hand of the Father. It is an essential element of the Lucan work which is on display in these last verses: it includes not only the expectation of a Messiah who announces light, but the other two "necessities" of the messianic life, suffering and resurrection, which have preoccupied Luke for so long. Finally, Luke can shift the concern of his audience from attention to the death of the Messiah, from attention to the resurrection of the Messiah, to the labor of the Messiah to announce light to the nations. But Luke is free to do this only after spending many chapters to secure the first two characteristics as true and valid characteristics of the Messiah.

A very important feature of the formula of Paul's last words to Agrippa is the adjectival position given to suffering and resurrection; emphasis here, as in the vision, is on a period of time beyond the life of Jesus in Israel, on the time of Paul who knew only the Jesus at God's right hand, in the period which has brought to life the faith of Theophilus, on the time grown contemporary with Luke and his reader. Yet, even though the suffering and resurrection of the Messiah are reduced to subordinate descriptions, they cannot be ignored or unspoken, as in the case of the vision, for they form part of that reality revealed by the God through the scriptures for one attuned to His word, and each element — suffering, resurrection, sitting at the

⁽²⁰⁾ "In reality the Church was not presented with its scriptural proofs complete in a single moment", HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, 105.

right hand of God — has its relevance for the full flowering of the plan of God, which is to have His Messiah preach light to all the world, irrespective of time and place. All that remains, in fact, of the as yet unfulfilled scriptures is the coming of the Son of Man for those who then will hold up their heads for their salvation is at hand (Luke 21,28; cf. Acts 3,20-21).

Paul's obedience to a heavenly vision, then, is seen as the fulfillment of a vaster plan which included, at its heart, the suffering and risen Messiah. Not only is it the authority of this Messiah that justifies and forms Paul's infuriating teaching; but the Messiah himself is so intimately involved in this teaching that, first, he can be said to announce light to the nations through Paul, and, secondly, he is himself to be the most profound content of the preaching, for it is through faith in him that forgiveness of sins and a share among the blessed are possible. To be able to profess total commitment to Jesus means that one has not allowed the death of Jesus to be an obstacle to conviction that he is Messiah⁽²¹⁾; to be able to profess faith in Jesus means that one believes that God overturned the plots of men to have Jesus live again, so as to continue his mission of salvation. In all this effort, the scriptures are a comfort and support; the most trustworthy of witnesses long ago said that suffering and resurrection would be parts of the Messianic life. Indeed, if the vision given to Paul occasionally uses words which remind one of the prophets ("stand up and get on your feet" — Ezek 2,1; "selecting you from Israel and the nations" — 1 Chr 16,35; "I am sending you" — Jer 1,2; "to open eyes" — Isa 35,5; 42,7; 61,1; "to turn them from darkness to light" — Isa 42,16; "a share among the sanctified" — Deut 33,3-4; Wis 5,5) — if words of the vision suggest phrases of ancient scriptures, then the last words of Paul focus explicitly on the claim that all Paul has done, in presenting the message of Jesus of Nazareth, is fulfil the expectations held by the Jewish scriptures concerning the Messiah of Israel: that the Messiah would, upon rising from the dead, announce light to all the world⁽²²⁾.

⁽²¹⁾ Another way of phrasing this is: "The death of Jesus was not a proof that he was not Messiah", *Beginnings*, 321.

⁽²²⁾ Given all that is compressed into the speech of Paul before Agrippa, one can agree with O'TOOLE, *Climax*, 19, "The content of the speech is such that Agrippa II could not be the real audience".

Conclusion

Paul's last remarks, which identify his work with the work expected by the Jewish scriptures of a suffering and risen Messiah, bring Paul's speech before Agrippa to a close⁽²³⁾. In retrospect, the reader, who is aware of the accusations which have hounded Paul for a long time of his life, realizes that he has been presented with Paul's most forceful arguments against the charges brought against him.

The first accusation Paul addresses, through verses 4-8, centers on the fact that he believes in the resurrection from the dead. Though since Acts 4,2, the Sadducees have done their best to silence the Christians on the subject of resurrection, Jesus's or anyone else's, it falls to Paul to give the Christian defense for this belief⁽²⁴⁾. At earlier trials (Acts 23,6; 24,21), Paul had identified this belief as a deep reason why enemies wanted him put to death; later, he had indicated to Felix that his belief in the resurrection of the dead was actually shared by those who had come to condemn him. But it is in the speech before Agrippa that Paul indicates most fully the direction one should go in order to see how just was belief in the resurrection of the dead. First, all his people, to whom he belonged by virtue of his life at the center of Judaism, believe in resurrection. Secondly, it is a fundamental means by which one can attain the promise made to "our fathers". Moreover, who of the audience can

(23) HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, 688, expresses the common view that, though Luke notes that Festus seems to "interrupt" Paul's speech, in fact this "artistic device of interruption" occurs just "after the decisive thing has been said"; cf. MARSHALL, *Acts*, 398.

(24) For HAENCHEN, *The Acts*, the speech of Paul before Agrippa is, taken summarily, a speech in which Paul "defends himself against the charge that he has transgressed against Judaism" (682); more particularly, however, Haenchen insists that, within this overall goal, vv. 4-8 address a particular issue: "Paul is speaking about the raising of Jesus" (684); about "the Messianic hope — brought to fulfillment in the resurrection of Jesus — which is inseparably bound up with the hope of resurrection, cf. 23,6" (683). Yet, in regard to the understanding of Acts 23,6 — "I am on trial now because of hope and (*kai*) resurrection of the dead" — if I understand Cadbury's argument here, he thinks that "hope and resurrection" is not a hendiadys intended to refer to the Messiah's resurrection, *Beginnings*, 289.

really challenge belief in the resurrection⁽²⁵⁾? In these ways, then, Paul tries to lay to rest one of the major disputes which has put him in danger of death. It must be admitted that it is Paul alone, and not his enemies, who insists that belief in resurrection is at the heart of the accusations against him.

The second accusation against Paul is that he teaches against the law, the people and the temple; Paul's presumed introduction of a pagan into an area of the temple reserved for Jews only is an instance of his disregard for the temple. At times, this accusation can be phrased in such a way that Rome might, it is hoped, see in Paul's teaching a threat to Roman peace and stability; thus he would be criminal in the eyes of Rome, as well, and surely suffer the consequences of his activity.

Paul answers this second accusation in a variety of ways. Earlier, he had argued with his fellow Jews that three visions (Acts 22,7-10.13-16.18-21) had combined to turn his life to preach salvation to the gentiles and thus to an association with them, but that this never led him to defile the temple through a gentile presence there. This was to no avail. Moreover, Paul had counter-charged that he had never caused any disturbance in Jerusalem, that those who first accused him of doing this were not even present at the most significant trial where this accusation was made (Acts 24,12.19-21). Now, before Agrippa, Paul restates the mandate he was given by a heavenly vision, to which, he argues, he could hardly be disobedient. He had earlier dispelled any notion that, before the vision, he was in some sense sympathetic with Christianity; thus, his actions subsequent to the vision were due to no self-induced change, but were done solely at the behest of the divine vision⁽²⁶⁾.

Given the presence of Agrippa, it is important that the instructions given to Paul in the vision be spelled out in language that would remind Agrippa of the ancient prophecies, that Agrippa understand from the very language of the vision that Paul is simply fulfilling the ancient prophecies of Israel.

(²⁵) For CADBURY, *Beginnings*, 316, v. 8 (*hymen*) is addressed to a real or imaginary group of Jews; he notes further, "it may be that the real audience is betrayed by this plural pronoun".

(²⁶) In the desire to show that his choice of being a Christian did not come from his own weakness or tepidity towards his own Jewish religion, Paul accentuates his strong opposition to Jesus; in its own way, this accentuation argues to the validity of Paul's life as a missionary of Jesus.

The very formulation of the obedience Paul exercised intends to show that that is all Paul did by his preaching and teaching: he obeyed. This formulation stresses Paul's worthy goal, a goal of Israel's great prophets, including John the Baptist: repentance and return to God, with deeds that befit repentance. Such activity certainly should not be censured, as one of Agrippa's knowledge of Judaism would know⁽²⁷⁾. It is left to the reader of Acts to recall how far the deeds of repentance, the deeds of the "new way", differ from those of traditional, contemporary Judaism.

Paul also claims that he has enjoyed the constant protection of God throughout his teaching life. Certainly, this divine care is a sure sign of Paul's innocence. Unfortunately, it is only the reader of Acts, and not Paul's enemies, who can second this claim for Paul. Yet, in its own way, the divine protection serves to show any reader just how favored by God Paul has been⁽²⁸⁾.

Though his enemies had accused Paul of teaching against the law, the people of Israel and the temple, Paul perceives that the source of the dispute about this teaching is the figure of Jesus. He had suggested this when he said that, as an enemy of Christianity, he had thought it his duty to oppose, not the teachings of the Christians, but the name of Jesus. To defend against any subtle attack against Jesus of Nazareth, Paul uses two arguments.

First, all revelation is attributed to the Jesus of Paul's vision.

⁽²⁷⁾ CADBURY, *Beginnings*, 320, offers the observation that v. 20 is formulated so as "to show that Paul's preaching was not other than a Jewish missionary would have used in attempting to convert the heathen" (cf. 3,19; 9,35; 14,15; 15,19).

⁽²⁸⁾ That in so many ways the audience of Paul — Agrippa II, his sister and courtiers, and the leaders of Caesarea — is not the true object of the speech of Acts 26 suggests that the speech itself is not a record of Paul's address to Agrippa; this, in turn, reminds us of the words of MARSHALL, *Acts*, "At best, then, we cannot have any more than summaries of the kind of things that were said", 41, "it is still most reasonable to believe that Luke's practice was similar to that of Thucydides: '... my habit has been to make the speakers say what was in my opinion demanded by the various occasions...' (*History*, 1.22.1)", 42. The "occasion" of this speech before Agrippa, however, seems to be not only the need to hear Paul explain himself ultimately for the benefit of his trial before the Emperor, but also the desire of Luke to provide his reader with a powerful conclusion to the travails of Paul begun in Chapter 21 and to some degree resumptive of the Lucan work as a whole.

Jesus is the one whom Paul persecutes, the one who selects Paul, the one whose servant and witness Paul will be, the one who will in the future reveal things to Paul, the one who defines the mission of Paul, the one through belief in whom this mission will reach its furthest stages: forgiveness of sins and a share among the sanctified. All that is left unsaid is Jesus's role as that Son of Man whom, when he comes, the faithful will greet as their savior with their heads held high. Finally, it is Jesus who defines the mission of Paul in such a way that one sees Paul to be the fulfillment of the Jewish scriptures.

Secondly, the entire mission described in the heavenly vision is rephrased or re-expressed through another category: Paul's work is really the work of that Messiah of Israel who, having suffered, then risen, as the scriptures said he would, now announces light, as those same scriptures said he would, to the gentiles. By invoking this new formula of the Messiah, Paul links his defense to all that had been said about the true definition of Messiah, argued over in Acts (and even in the Gospel). This Messiah had to die, had to rise; these were stages in his life. These stages should have been, or could have been recognized by anyone who was truly attentive to the Jewish scriptures. Thus, the death of the Messiah should not have caused disbelief, but, in its own way, should have confirmed the fact that the Messiah was indeed here. The resurrection, as the overturning of death and re-establishment of the mission of the Messiah, should have confirmed the assessment that the Messiah was present. Whatever might have been the intrinsic or salvific reasons for allowing the Messiah to die so painfully⁽²⁹⁾, the fact is that, since the scriptures foretold it, it "had" to happen. Thus, one is still on the track of the Messiah, should the one suspected to be Messiah die ignominiously.

By the time of Paul, the death and resurrection of the Messiah were past events, meriting adjectival status in his address before Agrippa. What is happening now is the full blossoming of that Messiah's announcement of light to all people; to this time of an-

⁽²⁹⁾ Luke suggests twice (Luke 22,19-20; Acts 20,28) that the body given and the blood spilt have salvific value. It seems right to say that, though Luke knew of the theology of the cross, his apologetic concerns to reach an identity of Messiah which would incorporate suffering and resurrection — without further appeal to the intrinsic value of these acts — governed his presentation of Gospel and Acts.

nouncement Theophilus and every other reader of Luke's works, can personally attest. Indeed, fundamental Messianic actions still continue, far beyond the time of his personal preaching to Israel, his death, his resurrection: two of these actions are the outpouring of the Spirit of God and the call of Paul to be his witness. In all this discussion of Messiah at the end of his discourse, Paul never mentions the name of Jesus, and here we have the focal point of his argument. What has been claimed about Jesus is that he is Messiah; it is this claim which is justified and vaunted as the true and chaste reading of the Jewish scriptures — nothing more or less.

From many points of view this speech of Paul, occurring as it does at the end of the Lucan work, fittingly sums up a great deal of Luke's editorial preoccupations. The speech should certainly be a source of encouragement to Theophilus, who was to know, by Luke's writings, the truthfulness of the things Theophilus had been taught (Luke 1,4). Thus, the speech not only serves as a summary of many important points in Luke's mind, but also contributes to the overall purpose of strengthening the faith of a reader like Theophilus.

But there is another purpose served by this speech, one which shows how the speech turns to a new goal or purpose. Whereas Paul had said early in his discourse that he "stood here today on trial", by the end of it he claimed that he "stood here today witnessing". The reactions of Agrippa and Festus, though different as each of them is different from the other, suggest that Paul is looking not only for freedom, but for belief. In this way, a speech of defense turns into one more example of that overall goal of Acts, to present the witness from and for Jesus to the ends of the earth (Acts 1,8). It is not, then, only courtroom dialogue which produces Paul's enticement: "You believe the prophets, king Agrippa? I know you do!" and Agrippa's response, "A little more, Paul, and you will make me a Christian!" In the final analysis, the speech of Paul before Agrippa belongs to that long list of acts of witness which characterize the entire book of Acts.

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SOMMAIRE

L'article montre que le discours de Paul devant Agrippa (Ac 26) ne peut être compris si l'on n'y voit pas une réponse à deux séries d'accusations: 1) Paul aurait enseigné contre «le peuple, la loi et le temple», 2) et croit en la résurrection des morts. Le discours d'Ac 26 peut donc être divisé ainsi: les vv. 4-8 donnent une double réponse concernant la résurrection des morts et les vv. 9-23 une réponse multiforme à propos de son soi-disant enseignement contre le peuple, la loi et le temple.

Quite Like Q

A Genre for 'Q': The 'Lives' of Cynic Philosophers

Hellenistic 'Lives' of philosophers have been quite readily included among *genres* which may be supposed to have guided the authors of Mark, Matthew, Luke and John⁽¹⁾. For the most part, a *genre* for 'Q' has been sought elsewhere, in the 'trajectory' set by J. M. Robinson among collections of sayings, from parts of Proverbs by way of *Pirke Aboth* to Gospel of Thomas⁽²⁾. K. Berger, in his recent studies of *Gattungen*, generally concurs⁽³⁾. In just one isolated aside he does appear to suggest, however, that 'Q', too, might be at home — even particularly at home — among the philosophical

(¹) E.g., K. BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen im neuen Testament", *ANRW* II 25: 2 1233-1235 and following; C. H. TALBERT, *What is a Gospel?* (Philadelphia 1977), and P. L. SHULER, *A Genre for the Gospels* (Philadelphia 1982).

(²) J. M. ROBINSON, "Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q", J. M. ROBINSON and H. KOESTER, *Trajectories through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971) 71-113; and accepted by e.g., R. D. WORDEN, "Redaction Criticism of Q: a Survey", *JBL* 95 (1975), 532-546; R. A. EDWARDS, *A Theology of Q* (Philadelphia 1976) 23-24; H. KOESTER, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels", *HTR* 73 (1980) 111-114; R. HODGSON, "On the Gattung of Q: a Dialogue with J. M. Robinson", *Bib* 66 (1985) 75-76; J. S. KLOPPENBORG, "The Formation of Q and Antique Instructional Genres", *JBL* 105 (1986) (after discussing but rebutting a number of competing suggestions) 443-449; D. E. AUNE, *The New Testament in its Literary Environment* (Philadelphia 1987) 19-20, 72; I. HAVENER, *Q: The Sayings of Jesus* (Wilmington 1987) 29-45; and, a little earlier, J. M. ROBINSON himself, returning to the issue, in "The Sayings of Jesus: Q", *Drew Gateway* 54 (1983) 26-36. Kloppenborg now discusses the issues at much greater length in his *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Philadelphia 1987), and includes reference to the philosophical *Lives*. The validity of the Q hypothesis continues to be questioned; among other defences see my "Compositional Conventions and the Synoptic Problem", *JBL* 107 (1988).

(³) BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1073; cf. also his *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments* (Heidelberg 1984) 63.

Lives⁽⁴⁾. The point seems worth developing further, for none of the other — non-Greek — models seems strikingly apposite, and the philosophical *Lives* would at least afford a Greek model for our reconstructed Greek document, 'Q'⁽⁵⁾.

I. A Formal Comparison

The Cynic section of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Book VI) provides an obvious starting point, consisting as each *Life* does largely of sayings. Some are *chreiai* of various kinds, some sequences of sayings for which 'apothegmata' might be the appropriate term. But, however analysed, for the most part each *Life* consists of what Antisthenes and Diogenes and the rest each 'said' (*ephē*) or 'used to say' (*elege*). (That these are still '*Lives*', *bioi*, is clearly stated by Laertius, VI 103). Other points of comparison between early Christians and Cynics have also been increasingly canvassed of late, and that, too, may encourage us to venture further⁽⁶⁾.

(4) BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1243: "b) ... Viten, die propagandistischen, praktischen und ermahrenden Charakter haben. Zugleich sind diese Viten in sich weniger konsistent und haben den Charakter von Sammlungen. ... Während Mk und — möglicherweise in noch stärkerem Masse — Q den Typ b) ... repräsentieren. ...".

(5) On the Greek of Q, B. H. STREETER, *The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins* (London 1924) 230-231; W. G. KÜMMEL, *Introduction to the New Testament* (ET; London 1966) 53-54; HAVENER, Q, 45; HODGSON, "Gattung", 84-85. Some have suggested that Q was composed in Aramaic, and translated into Greek, and that conclusion would weaken though not destroy the present argument: see, e.g., R. F. COLLINS, *Introduction to the New Testament* (New York 1983) 132 (following T. W. Manson). M. BLACK, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (London 1967) concludes, "it is the Greek literary factor which has had the final word with the shaping of the Q tradition" (191 [his italics]); and the evidence he very occasionally finds for translation variants in Matthew and Luke would seem most plausibly to point to an awareness by one or both of variant oral Greek versions of particular pericopai. N. TURNER, in "Q in Recent Thought", *ExpTim* 80 (1969) 325-328, argues convincingly that the individual parts of Q show clear signs of having been composed in Greek.

(6) Surveyed in L. VAAGE, *Q: The Ethos and Ethics of an Itinerant Intelligence* (unpublished doctoral thesis; Claremont 1987), with articles to follow;

The Cynic examples are fairly distinctive within Diogenes Laertius' *Lives*, for most of the others consist in summaries of the respective philosopher's 'system', or his modification of that of a predecessor, with at most a few anecdotes to enliven the presentation. The only major exception is Socrates (Book II); but by contrast with Plato's or Xenophon's portrayals, this seems to be Socrates as claimed by Cynics⁽⁷⁾. We cannot tell whether some of Diogenes Laertius' sources such as Hecato already displayed a similar 'bios' format: that and others may have been general or topical collections from various speakers⁽⁸⁾. But it is clear that when Lucian wants to present Demonax as a philosopher more Cynic than anything else he does so in a very similar manner, (and mentions a companion piece on another Herakles-like figure, Sostratus)⁽⁹⁾. There are also indications that one of Dio Chrysostom's portraits of Diogenes reflects a similar model⁽¹⁰⁾. (They would also provide for comparison two

KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*; and see my own "Cynics and Christians", *NTS* 30 (1984) 584-593, and notes there. In his original article, "Logoi Sophon", J. M. Robinson took as highly significant for *genre* both 'incipit' formulae, 'logia' and 'logoi', and also 'quotation formulae', 'elegen', etc. For what it is worth, these latter appear widely in the Cynic *Lives*. K. BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1078, claims that 'logoi' and 'logia' do not appear in titles before the middle of the second century CE.

⁽⁷⁾ Most readily available in Loeb editions: Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* [LEP], (ed. R. D. HICKS) (Cambridge, MA. 1925). (Anarcharis, LEP I 101-105, is also worth noting, as in the *Cynic Epistles*, below. Cleanthes is treated similarly, in brief, among the Stoics, LEP VII 168-176.) On Socrates as claimed by Cynics, see A. J. MALHERBE (ed.), *The Cynic Epistles* (Missoula, MT. 1977); LEP, VI 2, Epictetus III xxii 26, xiv 40, and, e.g., *Lucian* (ed. A. M. HARMON) (Cambridge, MA. 1936), "Demonax", 11; Dio also pairs Diogenes the Cynic with Socrates: *Dio Chrysostom* (ed. J. W. COHOON) (Cambridge, MA. 1932), e.g. 72.11. Other named collections of sayings are of interest but less directly relevant. *The Sentences of Sextus* is entirely gnostic and general; *Secundus the Silent Philosopher*, (though Cynic) defines a clutch of popular philosophical concepts; the *Life of Aesop* is a series of witty encounters; and though Plutarch sometimes includes a series of *chreiai* in his *Lives*, (as Berger notes), they are only ever a small proportion of the whole.

⁽⁸⁾ On the *chreiai*, R. F. HOCK and E. N. O'NEIL, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric* (Atlanta, GA. 1986), and p. 199 below; Diogenes Laertius refers to Hecato's *iōn chreion* (VI 4, 32, 95, VII 172).

⁽⁹⁾ Lucian, *Demonax*, 5, 21; referring to his *Life of Sostratus*, 1.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Dio Chrysostom, *Discourse* 8; see further, below.

pieces about the same length as that often estimated for Q [3,500 words, as for Demonax and Socrates], and one twice the length [Diogenes the Cynic], along with a number of other much shorter ones. *The Gospel of Thomas*, most often brought into the reckoning, is, I take it, not much shorter than Laertius' *Life of Diogenes*.)

It could be that what dissuaded Berger from following this lead any further was his conclusion that 'Q' itself, though full of attributed sayings, contained only three 'real' *chreiai*⁽¹¹⁾, compared with the very many to be found, as just mentioned, in the *Cynic Lives*. Whatever his reasons, neither this nor any other point of apparent contrast can detract from the very considerable parallels between 'Q' and the *Cynic Lives* that are to be surveyed in what follows.

To allow theoretical considerations of form to decide the issue would be to accord them a quite undue weight. The formal analyses in Quintilian and the *Progymnasmata*⁽¹²⁾ must be balanced by full attention to the actual practice of our writers, as for instance Hock and O'Neil make clear⁽¹³⁾. Writers of the day learned at school to produce variations on theoretically 'pure' forms, and the theoretical distinctions are inductive, not prescriptive⁽¹⁴⁾. Form is fluid.

So, while on the one hand we have to realise that Laertius' *Life of Diogenes* does contain various *chreiai* which fit quite tidily into some of the contemporary categories, and contains a number of sayings introduced with a simple 'he said' (perhaps to be classed as apothegms), there is much else that defies conventional determination along these lines. What may have been an 'action *chreia*' is generalised as common practice (VI 23); what may have been a mixed *chreia* is given its import in narrative (VI 22); many other sayings that may have had at least the minimal explanatory context that would warrant the designation '*chreiai*' are now simply strung together to indicate a general approach to life, rather than specific reactions (VI 27-29, 70-73). Though Berger may be right that gnomic sayings may have gained attributions to become apothegms

(11) BERGER, *Formgeschichte*, 81.

(12) BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1092-1095.

(13) HOCK and O'NEIL, *The Chreia*, 37-41, with examples.

(14) On this see F. G. DOWNING, "Contemporary Analogies to the Gospels and Acts: 'Genres' or 'Motifs'", *Synoptic Studies* (ed. C. TUCKETT) (Sheffield 1984) 51-65; AUNE, *Literary Environment*, 23.

and then a context to become *chreiai*, there is every sign that the movement could go back the other way⁽¹⁵⁾. But there is also a very fine line between a generalised saying that is now (strictly) 'gnomic' even though attributed by appearing in a *Life*, and an attributed saying (apothegm), 'and he also said'; and then one such as 'asked about x he said' (which now must count as a *chreia*). It is clear that Laertius felt quite free to ring the changes. The result would still have been entirely recognisable as a Cynic *Life*.

When the fluidity of the individual 'forms' used in the Cynic *Lives* (and elsewhere) is properly appreciated, and even more the fact that both they and 'Q' appear as collections of items, *pericopai*, with no narrative or other overall structure, the comparison with 'Q' appears much more promising. So we find a speaker collecting a crowd for a generalised rebuke (Luke 3,3-10, LEP VI 27-9, 32); we find a number of repartees (Luke 4,1-13, LEP VI 25-26, Theon's 'double *chreia*'); Theon himself provides an instance in which one classical quotation is matched with another⁽¹⁶⁾; Laertius has a number when just one quotation is used, by Diogenes or addressed to him; though lacking the '*makarioi hoi*' form (Luke 6,20-23), we are told something of the kinds of people Diogenes used to commend (VI 29; and '*makarios*' itself appears elsewhere); there is an occasional emphatic '*ego*' (Luke 6,27, LEP VI 48-49); an a-b-a-b dialogue with a figure in authority (Luke 7,2-6, LEP VI 68); response to messengers (Luke 7,18-23, LEP VI 44); 'what sort of man?' (Luke 7,24-26, LEP VI 54, 55 — Diogenes of himself, though); then, of course, the three request-and-answer *chreiai*, (Luke 9,57-62, LEP VI 36); and so on.

Clearly Laertius' Cynic *Lives* do lack in particular the general imperatives that make up quite a large part of the text of 'Q', and they lack the 'woes'; and 'Q' by the same token largely lacks the 'occasionalness' of much of Laertius' material. Yet it has already been pointed out that Laertius feels free to include a lot of generalised teaching of Diogenes, much of which seems to have been pre-

⁽¹⁵⁾ BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1093. Seneca teases Lucilius by asking him to attribute a gnomic saying, and then discloses that it is (perhaps surprisingly) an apothegm from Epicurus: *epistulae morales* xv 9, xxix 10; cf. xii 10, xiii 16. "But what difference does it make?" he asks, xiv 17.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Theon, *progymnasmata* 5; and in Epictetus III xxii 92; and compare also the discussion in KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*, 309-311.

served elsewhere in *chreia* form, and he indicates with his '*elegen*' that the individual utterances were themselves meant to be applied widely. The absence of some token repetitions of '*ephē*' or '*erōtēs-theis ephē*' in 'Q' does not detract seriously from the many similarities, in form and *even more in content*, to be observed between 'Q' and the Cynic material. It is on the content that we shall shortly concentrate our attention.

In a recent discussion John S. Kloppenborg notes that a number of the much older models that have been suggested for 'Q' included some sort of narrative *exordium*, which he then generalises, quite plausibly, as a 'strategy of legitimation' (17). However, in none of them do we find an encounter with some already established teacher, in the way in which 'Q' introduces Jesus with the help of some of John's preaching and a prediction of what Jesus is to do.

Similar encounters do appear to be standard form in the Greek *Lives* of Philosophers, and in particular, in those telling of Cynics. Thus Antisthenes is brought into contact with Socrates, and Diogenes with Antisthenes, and so on. Twice when Dio expands just a few *chreiai* of Diogenes into a discourse he nonetheless begins in just this way; but then so does Lucian in his account of Demonax (18). This beginning gives us some indication of our philosopher's character, as well as (in the philosophic *Lives*, at least) legitimating his succession. This is not to imply that the later teacher remains in any way subordinate to the earlier arrival on the scene; that the relationship was uneasy may be clearly insisted on, as in the 'Q' sayings of Jesus on John and in the traditions about Diogenes and Antisthenes.

Some reconstructions of 'Q' include John's confession of unworthiness, and Jesus' baptism, and these would strengthen the analogy (as Berger notes for the Markan and the other versions (19)).

(17) KLOPPENBORG, "Formation", 454-455; and compare now *The Formation of Q*, 84-85, 256-262, and 325-327.

(18) LEP VI 2, 21; Dio, *Discourse* 8.1-4; Lucian, *Demonax* 3. The point is not simply that philosophers get put into a 'succession' (LEP VI 13), but that details of the encounter are given for Cynics in particular.

(19) BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1240; IDEM, *Formgeschichte*, 347. Dio of Prusa's accounts of his own 'call' to the Cynic way of life also afford a striking comparison with the gospel material: Dio 1.56, 13.9; BERGER, "Hellenistische Gattungen", 1241; KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*, 314.

However, it would be wrong to press an argument further on so hypothetical a basis; the agreed data are sufficient on their own. The contacts between Jesus and John have 'Q' resembling a *Life* of a (Cynic) philosopher rather more than it does any of the suggested non-Greek models. (Mark and John, of course, adopt the same strategy for introducing Jesus. There is none such in *Gospel of Thomas*.)

Once the account has got under way, there is, as already pointed out, no overall structure to the work. There is, however, some piecemeal organisation, which is similar in all the models suggested: it is done either by theme or by catchword, or even both⁽²⁰⁾ (with always the possibility that some of these sequences may already have stood in some prior, smaller or larger collection⁽²¹⁾). So Lucian starts his presentation of the things Demonax incisively said with encounters with Favorinus, and then with other contemporary philosophers, linking issues of philosophical school, style, wit, pretensions, dress, sexual conventions; and *gelaw* leads to *kategalaw* in public to an encounter in a public square with a young girl, then with an effeminate-looking young man, then a criticism of someone else's appearance⁽²²⁾. Similarly Diogenes Laertius gathers together (supposed) encounters between Diogenes the Cynic and Plato, with some thematic links and expansions⁽²³⁾. By this criterion the Greek

⁽²⁰⁾ On such factors as the apparent basis for the ordering of Q, see HODGSON, "Gattung", 74-76; KLOPPENBORG, "Formation", 455. Kloppenborg argues for two contributory sets of material, one concerned with the stance of members of the community, and the other (he suggests, 'interpolated') threatening judgment according to a 'Deuteronomic' scheme. Both have 'thematic and catch-word' connections.

⁽²¹⁾ See note 8 above, 23 below.

⁽²²⁾ Lucian, *Demonax* 12-18.

⁽²³⁾ LEP VI 26, on Plato, leading into 27 on what constitutes being a real man; compare 40, where Plato on 'man' has attracted another 'man' saying. 36 presents a cluster on discipleship. 37 has two popular *chreiai* on sufficiency, one on the friendship of the gods underwriting it, followed by *proskyneis* to the gods, followed by boxers flat on their faces! But at 52, the link seems simply to be 'erôtēs theis'. There are more coherent thematic sections (but lacking *chreia* form) at VI 27b-29a, 42b-43a, 70-73. Repetitions such as 37 and 72, on divine friendship, and 30-31 and 74, on Xenaiades, as well as the references to Hecato, Metrocles, Cleomenes, etc., all point to prior collections. The issue of the order of items in Q is not, however, particularly important for the present discussion.

Lives afford no better but also no worse models for a *genre* for 'Q' than do the non-Greek ones that have been suggested.

There is one difference that must be noted between 'Q' as envisaged and some of these *Lives*. Many of the latter include towards the end an account of the philosopher's death. There is no sign of any such in 'Q' (leaving it here more like *Thomas*, for instance). However, although the three longer *Lives* noted, and some of the shorter ones end this way, not all do; Dio in *Discourse* 8 does not recount the death, though he does recount the discipleship of Diogenes; and compare Anarcharsis, Monimos, Onesicritos, Metrocles, Hipparchia, Menippos, and Menedemos, in Diogenes Laertius. (In fact a reference to the subject's death does not seem to be demanded in other *Lives*, either⁽²⁴⁾.) Like the contact with an already established teacher, the death can round off the portrayal of the subject's character: but his attitude to death may just as well be brought out, instead, in relevant sayings scattered throughout the account, and this is, of course, the case in 'Q'.

II. A Comparison of Content

Much more significant still for determining a likely *genre* for 'Q' is, as insisted just above, the bulk of the *content* of the Cynic *Lives*, the various words and teachings, whatever their formal structure. Though *Thomas* clearly uses variants of what is manifestly 'the same' material as 'Q' on a few occasions, and there is no such literary connection between 'Q' and our Cynic materials, yet the topics and import of the 'Q' material are actually much closer to what we find in the Cynic *Lives* and other more or less Cynic writings⁽²⁵⁾, than they are to *Thomas*. This is now to be shown. And

⁽²⁴⁾ DOWNING, "Contemporary Analogies", 54; Quintilian in his list of motifs does not include an account of the protagonist's death (*Institutes* III 7.10-18), though Hermogenes and Theon do in theirs; cf. SHULER, *Genre*, 54-57.

⁽²⁵⁾ We are warned by A. J. MALHERBE not to use the term 'Cynic' loosely of very diverse writers, some of whom he insists are more Stoic than Cynic, (e.g., in *Cynic Epistles*, 1; *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* [Philadelphia 1983] 13-14, 49), and his "Pseudo-Heraclitus Epistle 4: The Divinisation of the Wise Man", *JAC* 21 (1978) 45. However we are concerned

if the demonstration is at all persuasive, then the Cynic *Lives* are much more important than *Thomas* (or Proverbs or *Pirke Aboth*) for deciding possible *genre*, as models that would have been widely available when 'Q' was being composed. *Thomas* (further on in Robinson's 'trajectory') at most affords evidence for another but more distant response to similar models.

This generic similarity in content must now be illustrated by a selection of examples. A useful introduction is provided by J. M. Robinson himself in a recent and recently-published lecture announcing his renewed attention to 'Q':

Let us come to the subject matter of Q itself. It is primarily a call for action, much more than a theological statement... Even if christological or other theological doctrines can be put together on the basis of Q... such theologoumena are not what Q itself primarily has to say. Rather, what is again and again called for is a stance, and, corresponding to it, an action. Orthodoxy is understood primarily as orthopraxis⁽²⁶⁾.

There is an intriguing parallel with Diogenes Laertius' reflections on Cynicism at the end of his series of Cynic *Lives*:

We will now add an account of the doctrines which the Cynics hold in common — that is if we decide that Cynicism is really a philosophy, and not, as some maintain, just a way of life (VI 103).

'Q' begins with a fairly vigorous denunciation of opponents, and that this is a repeated motif is often noted. Denunciation is also an acknowledged common characteristic feature of Cynic *parrēsia* (brash frankness in speaking your mind). It is Cynics in particular among contemporaries who liken others to all kinds of animal⁽²⁷⁾, as do

here with *Lives* and with ideas that are presented as Cynic and seem to have been popularly perceived as Cynic, even though there may well be evidence for Cynic thinkers who as individuals had reached a much more distinctive and 'unStoic' Cynicism. But note also VAAGE, *Q*, 365, on "the possibility that many of the differences which Malherbe observes might be incidental or rhetorical differences and not ideological or philosophical". On the issue of the 'class' origin of the materials, see further, below.

⁽²⁶⁾ "The Sayings", 33.

⁽²⁷⁾ In many of the following notes reference will be made first to the various *Lives*, then, to other broadly Cynic materials; next, to Q (Lukan references, mostly); and finally, to the *Gospel of Thomas*, for a further comparison (using J. M. ROBINSON, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library* [Leiden 1977],

John Baptist and Jesus in 'Q'. A threat of judgment is less frequent in Cynic writing, but can be found (as can a companion promise of heavenly well-being)⁽²⁸⁾. The aim of denunciation, threat and promise is to change the minds of those who hear so they behave differently, producing worthwhile 'fruit'⁽²⁹⁾. Claiming inherited status constitutes no satisfactory alternative⁽³⁰⁾.

John expects an acceptance of a humiliating public start to discipleship, as does Diogenes in a number of stories⁽³¹⁾. Jesus himself

and the reference numbers given there). For the Cynic passage set out in full see my *The Christ and the Cynics* (Sheffield 1988), forthcoming.

Denunciation, then: LEP II 38-40; VI passim, but e.g. 27-29; *Demonax* 7, 11, etc; and the *Cynic Letters*, passim; Epictetus III xxii 23, Lucian, *Perigrinus* 3; ps. Lucian, *The Cynic*; Dio 8 and 9; and on 'animal' jibes, LEP II 21 (donkey); VI 24, 47, 48, 55 (himself), 61; *Demonax* 19, 21, 28; cf. also ps. *Diog.* ep. 28.1, Dio 8.24-25, Epictetus I xxviii 9, IV i 127, etc. In Q: Luke 3,7-9; 10,12-15; 11,23-12,1; and animal jibes, 3,7; 10,3. In *Gos Thom* there seems to be no address to outsiders, but two animal jibes, 93 (= Matt 7,6) and 102; and cf. 39 (= Matt 10,16b).

⁽²⁸⁾ There is no obvious 'eschatology' in the *Lives* cited here, with the possible exception of LEP II 35. In other broadly 'Cynic' writing (see n. 16) the theme 'judgment to come' is occasionally represented: e.g. ps. *Diogenes* 39, ps. *Heraclitus* 5, 6 and 8, Dio 30.24, 43-44, 36.49, 40.35-37. At other times it is raised to be dismissed: LEP VI 4 (Antisthenes), *Demonax* 8, 20, 24, 32-33, 45; cf. Epictetus III xiii 14-15. In Q, Luke 3,17; 6,20-23; 10,12-15; 17,23-37. In *Gos Thom* there is an explicit rejection of eschatology (51 and 113), which presumably determines the sense of 111 as a present possibility, and no overt discussion of any life to come.

⁽²⁹⁾ Effective change: LEP II 29 (and 48); VI 26-27, 56, (and 82, 87) and *Demonax* 7; elsewhere, ps. *Diog.* 2, 9, 38, 47; ps. *Crates* 8, 28, Musonius X, Epictetus III xxii, Dio 8 and 9. In Q, Luke 3,8; 6,43-45.47-49; 19,12-27, etc. *Gos Thom* is also clearly concerned with the full adoption of a new attitude involving an appropriate life-style, but it is lived in inner awareness, rather than through involvement with the world around (56). For 'fruit' metaphors, in LEP, only VI 60; elsewhere, Dio 71.2, Epictetus I xv 8, II i 21, II xx 18, IV viii 35-36, 39, and context. (The closest elsewhere are probably Seneca, *ep. mor.* 20.1, 41.7-8, 87.25, *de ira* II 10.6.) In Q, Luke 3,9; 6,43-5. *Gos Thom* has both the images, 43 and 45.

⁽³⁰⁾ Frequent in the Cynic *Lives*: LEP II 31, VI 1, 63, 72, *Demonax* 34; and cf. ps. *Anarcharsis* (in *Cynic Epistles*), ps. *Diogenes* 28, ps. *Heraclitus* 9.2, Epictetus I ix 1-4, Dio 15.29. In Q, Luke 3,8; 7,9; 13,28-29. No obvious equivalent in *Gos Thom*.

⁽³¹⁾ Nothing for Socrates or *Demonax*; but for Diogenes, LEP VI 21, 36, 74; and elsewhere, ps. *Diogenes* 36. (The major initiation for Cynics is the adoption of doubled cloak, satchel and staff, on which vide infra.) In Q,

presumably undergoes this, as befits one who is going to make similarly hard demands on others⁽³²⁾. He then goes to be tested in the wilderness. The Temptation narrative in 'Q' is explicitly formed round Jewish scriptural passages and their context of the stories of Israel in the desert. But even so it finds Cynic parallels, in the model of Heracles in the desert coping with hunger and thirst⁽³³⁾ and also with the allurements of power, effectively opposing figures representing all that is evil among humans, and emerging with an understanding of true kingship⁽³⁴⁾. Lucian tells us that in his (now lost) companion piece to his *Demonax* he had opened by likening another admired figure, Sostratus, to Herakles, "making roads in untravelled country and bridging places hard to pass"⁽³⁵⁾.

Diogenes in a number of stories is fairly sceptical about divine intervention in the world around (as is Lucian's *Demonax*), though talk of deity does occur. Other Cynics in first century material are

Luke 3,16. In *Gos Thom*, though there is reference to John Baptist (46), there is no such humbly enacted initiation (unless 37 has this implication; or 89 rejects any baptising).

⁽³²⁾ This is part of the implication of the 'discipling' stories referred to above: in LEP, especially VI 3, and 21; but also *ps. Diogenes* 30, and 38 (of Crates?); Dio 8.1-4. Assuming, then, that Q did presuppose Jesus' baptism by John, *Gos Thom* has not the smallest hint of Jesus being in any kind of dependent (or even equal-associate) relationship with another (52!).

⁽³³⁾ Undergoing hardship, LEP II 21, 27; VI 2 (like Herakles), and 21-22; *Demonax* 1 (Herakles); elsewhere, Dio 6.12, 8.16 (Herakles); *ps. Socrates* 9.3; Musonius 6; Epictetus III x 8, mostly stressing hunger and thirst. Luke 4,2 (and 6,25). *Gos Thom* 14 and 104 seem to repudiate fasting as too distractingly physical an exercise, (so that 27 must be taken as a metaphor). There is no hint of any testing of Jesus. (86, see below, is probably re-interpreted.) BERGER, *Formgeschichte*, 337, mentions *Versuchungsberichten* in passing, but mainly in connection with martyrdom and Abraham, and seems to ignore the Herakles tradition; but compare KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*.

⁽³⁴⁾ True kingship is at issue between Socrates and the junta, LEP II 24, Diogenes and Alexander (and others) LEP VI 32-33, 43, 45, 58, 60, 63, 68; and *Demonax* 40-41, 50; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 33, Dio 1.66-end, 4.14; Epictetus III ii 92, xxii 56; Cebes, *Tabula*. For Q, Luke 4.5-6 (and cf. 7.25-26). *Gos Thom* has the one 'Caesar' saying (100; = Mark 12,17//) but with no hint of political critique. On Cynic 'kingdom' language, VAAGE, *Q*, 334-341.

⁽³⁵⁾ It is an intriguing coincidence that Lucian and the gospel tradition can both use 'roads in the wilderness' metaphors in such similar contexts: Luke 3,5//s, *Demonax* 1; cf. Dio 4.22-23. (On 'evil powers', vide infra).

more 'pious' and 'theological', as we shall see further in what follows. Diogenes in Dio is sure that God feeds "with knowledge and truth", just as Jesus is sure God feeds with his word⁽³⁶⁾. Musonius, Dio and Epictetus are all committed to obeying God, fitting in with the will of God (as each understands it) above all else, as is Jesus in 'Q'⁽³⁷⁾.

Cynics are not alone in discussing what amounts to the good life (*eudaimonia*) and who is truly blessed (*makarios*), but it is they, distinctively, who propose poverty and simplicity as its necessary conditions⁽³⁸⁾. It is Cynics, again quite distinctively, who expect to attract violent opposition. Diogenes Laertius' 'Cynic' Socrates found that "often when he argued particularly forcibly in a discussion, people punched him and pulled his hair out; and by and large he was laughed at and despised. But he bore it all patiently"⁽³⁹⁾, and Seneca seems to have the same model in mind when he writes, "Socrates said, Follow these instructions, if you are willing to listen to me, so you may live happily, letting yourself look a fool to others. Let anyone who wants to, offer you insult and injury... if you

⁽³⁶⁾Not in the *Lives* (though cf. LEP VI 42, on praying for the wrong things); but cf. Dio 4.41 with Luke 4.4. In *Gos Thom* the motif may be too obvious to need mention.

⁽³⁷⁾Submission to the will of God or gods is not a theme in the Cynic *Lives* that we possess. It is important in Epictetus, in particular: III xxii 56, of the Cynic; cf. IV i 98-99, vii 20; Dio 3.51; Musonius 16; and, perhaps, *ps. Heraclitus* 9.7. In Q, Luke 4.8. *Gos Thom* is about knowledge and awareness, rather than obedience.

⁽³⁸⁾In the *Lives*, LEP II 25-27; VI (2), 5, 22-23, 71; *Demonax* 5, 20; elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 31.4, Musonius 7, Epictetus III xx 12, 15; Demetrius the Cynic in Seneca, *de vita beata* 18.3, *de beneficiis* VII i 6-7. In Q, Luke 6,20-22. There are a number of 'makarisms' in *Gos Thom*, but concerned with 'internal' rather than external circumstance: 7, 19, 49, 54 (= Luke 6,21) 58, 68-69, 79 (= Luke 11,27-28). Although 68 resembles Luke 6,22-23, 69 at once 'internalises' it; so, too, presumably 54 and 79 are to be taken in the same way (cf. Matt 5,3, of course).

⁽³⁹⁾LEP II 21 (cf. 24), 35; VI 7, 33, 41-42, 44, 74; *Demonax* 11, 16; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 20, Dio 9.8-9, 73.5-7; Epictetus II xix 24 (though of a Stoic, apparently very similar in his eyes), III xxiv 113, IV i 163-164. In Luke, 6,22-23.26. In *Gos Thom*, as per n. 30, the idea of persecution by others is at once internalised, 68-69, and those addressed do not seem to engage in a publicly noticeable way of life.

want to live happily, a good man in all sincerity, let all and sundry despise you" (40).

The Diogenes of some of the stories is quick to avenge offence; but the Cynic Socrates "bore all the ill-treatment he received patiently", and Musonius and Epictetus and Dio all commend both a refusal to retaliate and positive moves towards reconciliation. "People offend (sin) against you. You take it without going wild, without harming the offenders. Instead you give them cause to hope for better things" (41). "A rather nice part of being a Cynic comes when you have to be beaten like an ass, and throughout the beating you have to love the people who are beating you as though you were a father or a brother to them" (42). "How shall I defend myself against my enemy? By being good and kind towards him, replied Diogenes" (43).

Generous giving is what the Diogenes of the *chreiai* demands; generous sharing is what first-century Cynics urge. "Diogenes used to say, We should hold out our hands to our friends palm open, not tightfisted" (44). "How much more splendid", commented Musonius, "than consuming lots of goods, is to do good to lots of people! How much better to spend money on (other) people than on bits of wood and stone (for yourself)" (45). J. M. Robinson contrasts the insistence

(40) Seneca, *ep. mor.* 71.7.

(41) LEP II 21, again, and 35-37; and VI 7, but contrasting VI 42; VI 68 seems to mean enemies should be treated as friends (not viceversa); *Demonax* 7, 10; and elsewhere, Musonius 10, Epictetus III xii 10, II x 24-26, *Encheiridion* 5, Dio 34.43, 40.34. In Q, Luke 6,27-29.35, and 11,4; 17,3-4. *Gos Thom* seems to contain no reference to forgiving and conciliatory attitudes and behaviour. On its own 48 could seem to be about harmony in the gnostic community, but the version at 106 shows that it is simply an inner unity that is at issue.

(42) Epictetus III xxii 53-54.

(43) *Gnomologion Vaticanum* 187.

(44) LEP II 27 (taught free); VI 29 (cf. 62!), 72, 87; *Demonax* 8; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 9, *ps. Crates* 27; Dio 1.23, 7.42-52. In Q, Luke, 6,29-30. Here there may be a literal parallel in *Gos Thom*, at 95 (= Luke 6,34; cf. 27, and 65, end). It could well reflect the classic Cynic motive of freeing oneself of a burden (itself also part of the Jesus tradition: Mark 10,17-25). But note also, 'Someone asked Crates what benefit he might gain from philosophy. "You'll find it easier to untie your purse, put your hand in, take out the contents, and give it to others"', (Stobaeus 97.31).

(45) Musonius 19.

in 'Q' on 'unreciprocal' goodness with pagan attitudes then (and today), but just such unconcern for reciprocity is admired and encouraged by Dio Chrysostom⁽⁴⁶⁾. The only 'reciprocity' is in your imagination: you do as you would be done by. The 'Golden Rule' is, of course, found in many places, not just among Cynics, but they particularly propound versions of it⁽⁴⁷⁾. That humans living thus generously are godlike is proposed by Musonius⁽⁴⁸⁾.

This generosity extends to a refusal to condemn others, along with an insistence on being aware of one's own failings⁽⁴⁹⁾. "How can we accuse dictators", asks Musonius, "when we remain worse than they are? We have the same impulses as they have, just without the same opportunities to indulge them"⁽⁵⁰⁾. "If you censure others while you're hiding a little tart behind your arm, I'll suggest you go off and eat it quietly", says Epictetus, to a would-be Cynic⁽⁵¹⁾. A Cynic is one

(46) ROBINSON, "Sayings", 34; Dio 17.8.

(47) The 'Golden Rule' does not occur in the *Lives*, on my reading, (unless it lies behind LEP VI 56!). The attitude it articulates is implicit in the pervasive insistence on harmonising deeds and words. Elsewhere the 'rule' occurs in one form or another quite often: *ps. Diogenes* 38.4, Epictetus I xix 13; Seneca *ep. mor.* 9.6 (quoting Hecato), 88.30, 95.63, 103 3-4. In Q, Luke 6,31. *Gos Thom* 6, "do not do what you hate" omits the concern for others.

(48) Giving without expecting a return, see n. 35; and especially Dio 7.52, 88; Seneca *ep. mor.* 81.1-2. That such goodness is godlike: LEP VI 51 (*Diogenes*), Musonius 17; and that human virtue in general is godlike, Dio 4.21-22, Seneca *ep. mor.* 31.91-100. In Q, Luke, 6,35-36. *Gos Thom* includes a rule of love for a 'brother' (25; not neighbour, not enemy) 'like your soul' (suggesting a relic of Mark 12,31, but with a Johannine kind of re-interpretation), and none of the Cynic or early Christian wider concern, and no suggestion that human love or kindness assimilates us to God.

(49) The theme is closely linked in logic (and practice) with forgiving wrong one has suffered oneself (n. 33). But on the inconsistency of much condemnation: LEP VI 27-28. Demonax was noted for his refusal to condemn (7). Elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 50.1, Musonius Frag. 33, Epictetus *Encheiridion* 48.2, etc., III xxii 93 (of the Cynic, explicitly); a very close parallel to the 'mote and beam', in Seneca, *de vita beata* 27.4; and note *de ira* I xiv 2; and also nn. 41-43. In Q, Luke 6,37-38.41-42. *Gos Thom* has a very similar 'mote and beam' saying (26), but it lacks the context of 'condemning', leaving it concerned with 'seeing clearly', being aware, as in the rest of the collection.

(50) Musonius 23.

(51) Epictetus III xxii 98.

who always starts by rebuking himself, insists Dio⁽⁵²⁾. "Someone asked Diogenes how he could master himself. 'By rigorously reproaching yourself with what you reproach others with', he replied⁽⁵³⁾".

As already noted, in 'Q' as in the Cynic tradition, inherited privilege is accorded no value. Cynics are 'cosmopolitan', open to all comers, and not just to Greeks. The figure of Anarcharsis represents this in the Cynic letters, rather as the Centurion does in 'Q'. The other side of this position, represented by denunciation of supposed 'insiders', is (as also already noted) prominent in both⁽⁵⁴⁾.

'Q' has the one healing story, and passing reference to an exorcism; healing and exorcism are each noted as significant. There is nothing obviously similar in the Cynic *Lives*; as already mentioned, Cynics tended to scepticism about supposed divine intervention. It is worth noting, though, that health restored, maintained and improved is seen by Cynics as a characteristic benefit of their regimen⁽⁵⁵⁾. (L. Vaage has very recently argued that there may be more to be said on this score than as yet persuades the present author⁽⁵⁶⁾.)

In 'Q' Jesus vividly contrasts John with the sort of figure to be expected in royal palaces⁽⁵⁷⁾. A contrast between Cynic and king (often Alexander) appears frequently. "Diogenes says, 'Going naked is better than all the scarlet robes in the world'; a Diogenes-style

⁽⁵²⁾ Dio 33.14.

⁽⁵³⁾ Stobaeus M. 1.32.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Nn. 22 and 19; Luke 7,9; 13,28-29. The issue of attitudes to those literally 'foreign' to hearers or readers does not arise in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP II 27, 32; VI 28, 30, 70; *Demonax* 63, 65; elsewhere, *ps. Crates* 20, *ps. Heraclitus* 5.1, 6.1,3, Epictetus I xxiv 8, and III xxvi 23, (of Diogenes specifically), Dio 32.14, 38.12. For Q, the Centurion's lad, Luke 7,1-10, but also 7,22-23; 10,9; 11,14-15. Whether *Gos Thom* 14 refers to physical healing it is hard to tell; there is nothing elsewhere to suggest that sense.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ VAAGE, *Q*, 334-341; in close connection with kingly power.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ In the *Lives*, as above, LEP II 24-25, VI 43-44, 60, 68, *Demonax* 38, 41, 50; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 23, *ps. Anarcharsis* 5, Epictetus III xxii 47 (Cynic), xxiii 34-35, and Seneca, *ep. mor.* 20.9 (of his Cynic friend, Demetrius); and nn. 48, 49. For Q, Luke 7,25-26. *Gos Thom* has a close equivalent (78) which retains a note of critique of the powerful, though only for their blindness, not their ostentatious consumption as such.

cloak is despised, but it doesn't let you down, and the person wearing it is more to be trusted than someone in the fine clothes of Carthage"⁽⁵⁸⁾. Dio asks his audience, "I wonder what on earth you came expecting or hoping for, looking for someone like me to speak to you... Some squalid figure, wrapped tight in his cloak, walking on his own..."⁽⁵⁹⁾.

There seems to have been an ongoing debate among Cynics about strictness and gentleness, often contrasting Antisthenes with Diogenes, on occasion involving surprise at a Cynic accepting some luxury food⁽⁶⁰⁾. The Cynic response is that people are never satisfied, whatever line a Cynic takes. Jesus is shown experiencing similar mixed reactions to himself and to John Baptist⁽⁶¹⁾.

As well as being discipled to someone who had taken up philosophy before him, our protagonist can expect to find other people asking to be allowed to follow him; Jesus and Diogenes make it clear that the following is not going to be easy⁽⁶²⁾. "The Cynic has to say, I've no property, no house, no wife, no children, not even a straw mattress, or a shirt or a cooking pot"⁽⁶³⁾, like Herakles, "caring nothing about heat or cold, with no use for mattress or woolly cape or rug, just dressed in a dirty animal skin, living hungry"⁽⁶⁴⁾. And with a harshness like that of the Cynics, Jesus seems to dispar-

⁽⁵⁸⁾ *Ps. Crates* 13.1, and Epictetus I xxiv 7.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Dio 33.1, and 13-14.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ See A. J. MALHERBE, "Self-definition among Epicureans and Cynics", *Jewish and Christian Self-definition* (B. E. MEYER and E. P. SANDERS eds.) (London 1982) 46-59; and "Antisthenes and Odysseus and Paul at War", *HTR* 76 (1983) 143-173. Quoted from the *Lives*, LEP VI 6, 66, Demonax 52 (cf. 21); but elsewhere, *ps. Crates* 6, *ps. Socrates* 10-13, Dio 8.1-4, etc.; Plutarch, *moralia* 69 CD. For Q, Luke 7,33-34. No such possible accusation against Jesus appears in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Nothing here, I think, in the *Lives*. The passages quoted, *ps. Diogenes* 28.2, (cf. 29.5), *ps. Anarcharsis* 9, Dio 66.25, cf. 9.7. For Q, Luke 7,31-32. Again, nothing in *Gos Thom*; (the admired behaviour of children, 37, is quite other).

⁽⁶²⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP VI (21) 36, 96; but elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 30, 38, Epictetus III xxii 9-11 (and the whole discourse, on being a Cynic); vide supra, n. 12. For Q, Luke 9,57-62. There is no such approach of would-be disciples in *Gos Thom* (cf. e.g., 61).

⁽⁶³⁾ Epictetus IV viii 31.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ Dio 8.30 (on Diogenes).

age burial rites. "What harm is there", asks Demonax, "in being torn to pieces by wild beasts if I'm past all feeling?"⁽⁶⁵⁾.

Dio and Epictetus both felt that they had a divine call to philosophy, involving a concern for their fellow humans, as God's messengers to them⁽⁶⁶⁾. An important part of conveying the message was, of course, living it, frugally, as we have already noted. The mission instructions in 'Q' seem to be framed in conscious response to Cynic practice. Although they are (as Gerd Theissen has pointed out) stricter than many Cynic marching orders⁽⁶⁷⁾, we find Musonius saying, "Wearing only one shirt is better than needing two; and wearing just a cloak with no shirt is better still. Going bare-foot, if you can, is better than wearing sandals"⁽⁶⁸⁾. There are similar instructions about the kind of 'payment' to be accepted, and the kind of person from whom it may be taken⁽⁶⁹⁾.

Kloppenborg, following Luhrmann, points to the denunciations of 'this generation' and of particular communities which occupy

⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP VI 52, 79, *Demonax* 66; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 25.1, Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* I 104, *Demonax* 35, and Teles, 30H, 31H. M. HENGEL, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers* (ET; Edinburgh 1981) 5-6, claims Jesus' saying is quite distinctive. Even if it had been in intention, it would still have sounded very similar. For Q, Luke 9,59-60. Despite *Gos Thom*'s disparagement of the body (or because of it?) it has no parallel.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Not in the *Lives* as we have them (not even to *daimonion*, LEP II 32); but cf. Epictetus I xxix 47, III xxii 23-25 (of the Cynic, explicitly), and *ibid.* xx 69; Dio 13.9, 32.12, 34.4; and n. 19 above. In Q, Luke 10,2. *Gos Thom* 12-13 talks of the status of James and of Jesus, and 33 talks of preaching from the housetops. But the missionary call of the Q tradition has more in common with Epictetus and Dio.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ G. THEISSEN, "Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum", *ZTK* 70 (1973) 245-271; VAAGE, *Q*, rightly takes Theissen (and others) to task for not following up such insights. In the *Lives*, LEP II 27, VI 2, 22-3, *Demonax* 5; elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 26, 30, *ps. Anarcharsis* 5, *ps. Crates* 16, Epictetus III xxii 50 (of the Cynic), and III i 24, xxii 10, IV viii 34, Dio 1.50, 6.16, 33.14, 72.2, Lucian: *Peregrinus* 15, *Runaways* 14, *Philosophies for Sale* 9. In Q, Luke, 10,4. In *Gos Thom* 14 there is an echo of the mission charge, including the possibility of travel, but the saying has lost any imperative urgency.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Musonius 19; cf. 16.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ Not in the *Lives*, but cf. *ps. Crates* 2, 19, 22, *ps. Diogenes* 9, 38, Epictetus III xxii 66 (for Cynics), III xxvi 27-28. In Q, Luke 10, 6-7. There is a slight echo, again, in *Gos Thom* 14.

sizeable sections of 'Q'. Such rebukes (some as fierce, some gentler) are characteristic of Cynic writings, as already noted⁽⁷⁰⁾.

'Q' contains Jesus' prayer of thanksgiving to God as Father, just possibly Jesus' pattern prayer to God as Father, and teaching on the appropriateness of petitionary prayer to that fatherly God. The Diogenes of the *chreiai*, for all the scepticism of many *pericopai*, had things to say about prayer, as had Demonax⁽⁷¹⁾; Dio and Epictetus do so in apparently very positive vein. God is to be thanked and praised⁽⁷²⁾, trusted and addressed as Father⁽⁷³⁾; while God of all⁽⁷⁴⁾, guiding and enlightening individuals for the general good⁽⁷⁵⁾, and always forgiving⁽⁷⁶⁾, for all the evident wickedness of humanity⁽⁷⁷⁾.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ KLOPPENBORG, "Formation", 450 (citing D. LUHRMANN, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* [WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1969]). In the *Lives*, LEP II 39, VI 1, 8, etc., 24-29, *Demonax* 11, 57; elsewhere, much severer (see n. 27); and *ps. Anarcharsis* 1, *ps. Diogenes* 1, *ps. Heraclitus* 7, 9, Dio 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37 (reprimanding various urban populations). In Q, Luke 10,12-15. Nothing similar in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁷¹⁾ In the *Lives*. LEP VI 20, 42; *Demonax* 27; elsewhere, Epictetus II xviii 29, IV i 122; Dio 38.9, 51, 39.8, 52.1. In Q, possibly Luke 11,2. When the disciples ask the same question in *Gos Thom*, it is not answered (6), and they are later forbidden to pray (14).

⁽⁷²⁾ In the *Lives*, only LEP II 42; but, e.g., Epictetus I xvi 16, IV i 108-109, v 35, Dio 30.28, 43.9-10 (of Socrates' hymn to Apollo, which Dio himself uses). Q in Luke 10,21. None such in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁷³⁾ Not in the *Lives*; but *ps. Diogenes* 34.3, Epictetus III xxiv 16, etc.; Dio 36.36, cf. 12.61, etc. Q, at Luke 10,21; 11,2.9-13. A 'Father' occurs quite often in *Gos Thom*, but is not addressed, or expected to 'do' anything. (Q and Dio in particular share a popular religious ethos quite foreign to *Gos Thom*.)

⁽⁷⁴⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP II 42, (again), VI 37, 72; elsewhere, *ps. Crates* 26.1, *ps. Heraclitus* 6.3, Epictetus I vi, I xiv 9, xvi, etc, Dio 1.38, 12.74-75. Q in Luke 10,21, 'Lord of Heaven and earth'. In *Gos Thom* perhaps 6 and 77 have this implication, but there is no such explicit assertion.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP II 32, Socrates' *daimonion*; VI 20; elsewhere, *ps. Heraclitus* 4.5, Epictetus II vii 3, xiv; Dio 1.64 (Herakles and Father Zeus), 32.12; and see n. 55. For Q, Luke 10,22, but also 12,10. *Gos Thom*'s concern is for self-knowledge (3) rather than knowing and being known by God who is other (compare 69), and still less is *Gos Thom* interested in divinely provided guidance or information about God's plans for his people (if that is what the Q passages are about).

⁽⁷⁶⁾ In the *Lives*, only *Demonax* 7; but cf. Dio 32.50; and Seneca, *de beneficiis* I i 9; cf. in Q (?) 11,4. *Gos Thom* seems to contain no general

As already noted, there is no obvious Cynic parallel to the controversy about exorcism (and Beelzebul). There are, however, plenty of parallels for the metaphorical language used, divided households, stronger warriors, and so forth⁽⁷⁸⁾. Dio has Diogenes talk about the three 'daimons' that can take control of a human being, and appends a 'myth' about Herakles and an evil desert monster; it has some similarities with the tale of the seven (eight) wicked spirits in 'Q'⁽⁷⁹⁾.

The controversy with Pharisees in 'Q' is phrased in terms of the Stoic and Cynic contrast between inner reality and 'mere' externals. "Externals (*ta exō*) are not mine to control. Moral choice is. Where can I hope to discern good and evil? Within, in what is mine. So just don't use words such as 'good' or 'bad' — nor 'useful' or 'harmful' or others like them — for things that are someone else's to control. Well then, are external things to be used carelessly? No, not at all..."⁽⁸⁰⁾. And similar to the castigation of 'the scribes' is the Cynic pillorying of those who claimed to be wise⁽⁸¹⁾.

reference to forgiveness, divine or human, apart from the 'blasphemy' saying, 41; see nn. 31-39.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP VI 6, 27-28, 89, 102, *Demonax* 7, 10; and elsewhere, *ps. Heraclitus* 9.1, *ps. Anarcharsis* 9, *ps. Crates* 29, *ps. Diogenes* 28.1, Epictetus I xi 7, Dio 4.80, 6.25, 17.2, 32.15, 38.14, 74.1, 21; Plutarch's Cynic Didymos, *moralia* 413A. In Q, Luke 11,13. In *Gos Thom* there is ignorance and blindness (e.g., 28), but no concern about wickedness, apart from 45, which still seems concerned with wrong opinion.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ For the metaphors, *Lives*, LEP VI 6, 10, *ps. Heraclitus* 7.9, Epictetus I xxix 19-21, III xxii 3, IV vii 36, Dio 1.82, 4.89-90, 5.20-21, 6.25, 34.22, 38.14-16. In Q, Luke 11,14-15.20-26. A 'strong man' saying occurs in *Gos Thom* 35, but there is no reference to exorcism or to demons, even metaphorical.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ Dio 4.73-139, 5.1-27.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ Epictetus II v 4-7. *Lives*, LEP VI 42 (cf., perhaps, VI.4, 39, and *Demonax* 11); elsewhere, *ps. Crates* 3.1, Epictetus III x 16-17, xv 13, IV viii 10, etc.; Dio 4.80 and *Discourse* 25; Diogenes in Stobaeus M 22 40. On 'externals', Q, in Luke, 11,40-41. The 'inside-and-outside' language of *Gos Thom* 3 and 22 looks rather different.

⁽⁸¹⁾ There are, of course, no Pharisees in the Cynic writings. There are a few lawyers in the *Lives*, LEP VI 54, *Demonax* 59. Pharisees are mentioned at *Gos Thom* 102. On the self-styled 'wise', in the *Lives*, LEP II 30, 38, VI 27-28, 40, again, 47, *Demonax* 12-14, etc.; and elsewhere, *ps. Diogenes* 28, *ps. Heraclitus* 7, Epictetus II xix 28, Dio 6.21. In Q, Luke 11,40-12,1.

In his article already referred to, R. Hodgson points to the importance in 'Q' of table-fellowship. It is a common theme in much contemporary writing (and not just for the genre '*Symposium*'); but it does also appear frequently in our Cynic lives, and other Cynic writing⁽⁸²⁾.

Some of the closest parallels come in the insistence that God cares, as the 'natural' world around shows, and in the conclusion from this that we ought then to desist from worry and worried activity⁽⁸³⁾. "'Good God, that's all very well, but I'm a poor man without property. Suppose I have lots of children, where am I to get food for them all?' 'Well, where do the little birds go to get food from to feed their young, though they're much worse off than you. . . Do they store food away for safe-keeping?'" asks Musonius⁽⁸⁴⁾. "'Won't having God as our maker and Father and guardian be good enough to release us from grief and fear?' 'And what shall I do for food?' '... every one of the dumb beasts is self-sufficient and suffers no lack of food, nor any other appropriate natural necessity for its kind of life'", insists Epictetus⁽⁸⁵⁾. "When God tells the plants to flower, they flower, when he tells them to bud, they bud... Isn't God such that he oversees everything and is present there with everything and is able to be in touch in some way with everything?"⁽⁸⁶⁾. "Why not consider the beasts and the birds", demands Dio, "and see how much more painlessly they live than humans do, how much more pleasantly and healthily... [they have] one enormous advantage — they are free of property"⁽⁸⁷⁾.

Our attention is being directed away from what we might have to what we might be, to centre our concern away from 'things'⁽⁸⁸⁾.

Apart from the one reference to 'Pharisees' there is no worry about rival teachers in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁸²⁾ HODGSON, "Gattung", 88-89. In the *Lives*, LEP II 34, VI 6, 25-26, 59, 64, *Demonax* 63.

⁽⁸³⁾ On divine care, see n. 63 above. On trust encouraged by the non-human world around, *Lives*, LEP VI 22; elsewhere, Plutarch, *moralia* 77F-78A, *ps. Diogenes* 6.2, 16.1, 36.5, Philo, *de virtute* 6. Q in Luke, 12,22-31. No equivalent in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Musonius 15.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ Epictetus I ix 9.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Epictetus I xv 3, 9.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Dio 10.16.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP II 5, 10, 24, 27, 57 (wealth: but mostly stated in

For "human flourishing does not come through possessions outside myself, like gold plate", Dio argues⁽⁸⁹⁾. Similarly, Epictetus explains, "Where the 'I' and the 'mine' are, that's the direction in which the living being is bound to incline. If they are in his living body ('the flesh'), that's going to dominate; if they're in his moral choice, that's dominant"⁽⁹⁰⁾. Wealth as well as the love of it is rejected. "Diogenes called the love of money the mother of all evils"⁽⁹¹⁾. "Diogenes said, 'Virtue can never live in a wealthy city, nor in a wealthy home'"⁽⁹²⁾.

In fact we do not own things, we are stewards; and the (very obvious) model of servants in the large household occurs in Cynic material as it does in 'Q'⁽⁹³⁾. "Where you have a well-managed household, no passer-by says to himself, I ought to be in charge here. If he does, and the master of the house turns round and sees him high-handedly giving orders, he'll drag him out and chop him about. . ." ⁽⁹⁴⁾. Not dissimilar is Dio on Socrates, who "openly criticised the junta of thirty tyrants, saying they were like wicked herdsmen who took charge of a large herd of healthy animals and reduced it to a sickly handful"⁽⁹⁵⁾.

It is in fact Cynics in particular, says Dio, who are expected to tell stories to make their point, taking their lead from Aesop and Socrates; and many more of the figures used in 'Q' occur also in the Cynic material, or in authors in part influenced by Cynic teachers (such as Seneca, with his Cynic 'chaplain', Demetrius)⁽⁹⁶⁾. The

the practice of poverty), *Demonax* 19-20. Elsewhere, *ps. Crates* 8.1, Epictetus I ix 7, III xxii 104-105, IV i 96-98, Dio 17.20, 79.6, Seneca *ep. mor.* 92, 32-33, Philo, *de virtute* 84-85, Plutarch *moralia* 413B. Q in Luke, 12,33-34. In *Gos Thom*, perhaps the end of 64 implies this, and 76 (pearl) more clearly.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Dio 3.1; cf. 4.10, 72.7-8, 79 *passim*.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ Epictetus II xxi 19; cf. II ii 26.

⁽⁹¹⁾ *Lives*, LEP VI 50, 82.

⁽⁹²⁾ Stobaeus 93.35.

⁽⁹³⁾ In the *Lives*, only at LEP VI 30-31 and 74, and then only by implication (and cf. *ps. Crates* 34.4, Philo, *quod omnis probus liber sit* 123) and also *ps. Socrates* 1.3, Epictetus I ix 16, III xxiv 36, IV vii 20, xii 11; Dio 1.44-45, 2.75-76, 9.9, 55.21-22. In Q, Luke 12,42-46; 19,12-27 (?). At *Gos Thom* 65 we have tenant farmers (= Mark 12,1-8), but no steward imagery.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Epictetus III xxii 3.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Dio 43.8. For Demetrius in Seneca, *ep. mor* 20, etc.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ The *chreiai* in the Cynic *Lives* are full of figurative speech; and this

image of the 'Two Ways', for example, though not specifically Cynic, does seem to occur most often in Cynic writings among literature that has come down to us⁽⁹⁷⁾. For instance, the second-century Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara (in the Decapolis) wrote, "There are two ways, distant from each other. One leads to the honoured home of freedom, the other to the lair of slavery; and mortals should keep well clear of that one... Take on yourself the task of persuading people to follow the first path... and warn them against the other..."⁽⁹⁸⁾.

The cost of discipleship is set high by Cynics and Christians alike: both say death may be the price⁽⁹⁹⁾. "If you want to be crucified", advises Epictetus, "just wait. The cross will come. If it seems reasonable to comply, and the circumstances are right, then it's to be carried through, and your integrity maintained"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. "If Diogenes had to take a beating or be cut or burned, he showed no weakness [or, still made no concessions]"⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

Just as in 'Q', there seems to be some division on the issue of marriage. On the one hand, Musonius, Epictetus and Demonax all seem to have seen marriage counselling as part of their vocation, and proposed a high sexual morality; on the other hand, their own vocation might well (as in 'Q') involve refusing and even renouncing family commitments⁽¹⁰²⁾. That also might well be part of the cost.

is noted explicitly, *ps. Socrates* 34.3, *Dio* 55.9, 11, 22, 72.13. In Q, frequent; but also in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁹⁷⁾ Not in the *Lives*; but *ps. Diogenes* 12, 30, 39, *ps. Crates* 21.1, Epictetus III xxii 26, *Dio* 1.67-68. In Q, Luke 13,23-24. Not in *Gos Thom*.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Oenomaus in Eusebius, *praeparatio euangelii* V 28.7.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ In the *Lives*, LEP II 38-44, VI 44; and elsewhere, Musonius 3 (of a woman's philosophic fortitude), Epictetus III v, vii, xviii 4, xxii 12, IV i 153-154 (of Diogenes), Lucian of Peregrinus, 23. In Q, Luke 14,27. No such cost seems to threaten in *Gos Thom*.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Epictetus II ii 20; cf. Seneca, *de vita beata* xix 3.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ *Dio* 8.16.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ In the *Lives*, note LEP II 26, 36-37, perhaps; VI 72 (despite 29!), *Demonax* 9; and elsewhere, Musonius 13, 14, 15, Epictetus III xxii 72; but only Crates marries (LEP VI 96-98), and note Epictetus VI 72, again, and *Demonax* 55. In Q, Luke 14,26 (though 'wife' may be Luke only, compare Matt 10,37). In *Gos Thom* there is no marriage to counsel, and no family life: 22, 114, though this saying seems reflected in 16.

The final parts of 'Q' (retaining Luke's order) all seem to be to do with the end-time, and with Jesus as Son of Man and as judge. The imagery and the detailed language are distinctively Jewish. Yet at least apparently similar themes are nonetheless to be found in Cynic or near-Cynic writings⁽¹⁰³⁾. Dio can present a vaguely Zoroastrian, vaguely Stoic cosmic eschatology, as readily as an individualised one in which we are judged now on the basis of our behaviour⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. The Cynic *Epistles* can talk of virtuous individuals being accorded places not just of honour, but apparently of leadership and judgment in a life to come⁽¹⁰⁵⁾. (How literally any of this may have been intended it is, of course, very hard to tell. But it is only important for the present case to show that such ideas are included.)

There is a great deal more such material even than has been referred to in the footnotes. The present writer has collected much of it and collated it with parallels in the synoptic tradition (Mark, 'special Matthew', 'special Luke', as well as the 'Q' material of which a selection has been noted here, and also James). It should be available in 1988, in a form which both allows its cumulative force to be felt, but also allows scholars to make up their own minds as to the genuine or only apparent relevance of each item in turn⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. For the moment it is enough to have shown how readily 'Q' as envisaged by us would have seemed to readers or hearers to be modelled on the Cynic philosophical *Life*, both in its (minimal) internal organisation, and in its individual forms of sayings, apothegms and *chreiai*; but even more in terms of the greater part if not

⁽¹⁰³⁾ Though, as already noted, n. 20 there is no 'eschatology' in the Cynic *Lives* on which we are particularly concentrating, issues of 'life after death' are touched on: LEP II 35, 39, 102, *Demonax* 24, 45 (and compare Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, possibly a Cynic genre dependent on Mennipus). In Q, Luke 12,8-9; 17,21-37. The nearest *Gos Thom* comes to such a suggestion is at 11, but it is so enraptured with life now that any question of death and further life is refused, 51, 113. VAAGE, *Q*, 334-341, argues that passages in Lucian such as *Runaways* 12 reflect a more pervasive 'kingship' language among Cynics.

⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ Dio, *Discourses* 36 and 30.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Ps. *Diogenes* 39, ps. *Heraclitus* 5, 9; cf. Epictetus, *Encheiridion* 15.

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ As already mentioned in n. 27, *The Christ and the Cynics* (Sheffield 1988). VAAGE, *Q*, in support of his central thesis on the mission charge adduces a striking number of coincident parallels, quite independently.

the entirety of its subject matter. If 'Q' came out looking like a Cynic philosophical *Life*, it seems very likely that that was the genre on which it was deliberately modelled.

III. Possible Objections

Some possible objections must be briefly considered. Taking it for granted that much if not all the material cited is very closely contemporary with the rise of early Christianity, and from the same geographical areas, there may still be doubts as to whether it would have circulated among the social groups and strata from which the first Christians came; and, even if it could be shown that it did, we may still ask whether it will have been sufficiently widespread to be likely to be influential; and even if we have a sufficiently affirmative answer to both those questions, it may then be suggested that the similarities are superficial, incidental and coincidental, so that considered in total context 'Q' and the Cynic material mean quite different things even when using the same or very similar words, phrases and images, so that they throw no significant light on one another; and that would then make it very unlikely that Christians would have considered using Cynic compositional models.

It is important to come to these questions after having at least scanned as much as possible of the data, and not to attempt to settle them a priori or axiomatically, or in any way apart from the evidence being considered. If there were only a handful of similarities in the use of key terms or images, then a lot of other supporting evidence would properly be needed before each individual parallel were deemed significant. But as things stand, there is so much evidence for apparently similar motifs from the same period and areas of population, that the burden of proof must surely lie with any objector. Given these similarities, can it be shown (not simply asserted) that the Cynic material circulated in other and perhaps secluded social strata, and in so small a way as to have had little impact on those who became Christians? and can it be *shown* (not simply presupposed) that apparently similar words and phrases were being used so differently that the similarity is more misleading than significant?

Certainly such indications as we have all confirm the conclusion that, it has been suggested, flows most naturally from the weight of

the data. Cynic reflections were not the preserve of a secluded social minority, but were widely known; and in so far as 'meaning' is shown by the practical implications that are held to follow, their 'intention' was to urge a life-style so similar to that urged in 'Q' and other synoptic tradition that the 'meaning' of both cannot be conceived of as other than very similar⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.

Speakers and writers such as Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus and Musonius are sometimes pictured as restricting themselves to a wealthy and very cultured clientele. But Dio in the last third of the first century says Cynics (whose message he affirms) could be found on every street corner and temple gateway of Alexandria, and that "almost everywhere you go is crowded with this kind of philosopher, who always draws a large crowd"⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ (and he also says that most of the towns he visits are very similar). He also says "the mass of ordinary people keep a clear memory of these sayings attributed to Diogenes"⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. He himself travelled widely, even going beyond the borders of the Empire, and in rural areas as well as in the towns⁽¹¹⁰⁾. Epictetus insists that a Cynic has 'all humankind' for his sphere of work, and public places are where they are to be met⁽¹¹¹⁾. As a Cynic-inclined Stoic he addressed people who had a staff of slaves in the household, as well as men who would expect to look after their children themselves when their wives were busy with a new baby⁽¹¹²⁾. The fictitious Cynic letters give the same impression: Cynic 'philosophers' and Cynic ideas were widely dispersed, both

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Compare E. HATCH, *The Influence of Greek Ideas on Christianity* (London 1890); S. DILL, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London 1905) III ii; W. R. HALLIDAY, *The Pagan Background of Early Christianity* (London 1925); D. B. DUDLEY, *A History of Cynicism* (London 1938); H. W. ATTRIDGE, *First Century Cynicism in the Epistles of Heraclitus* (Missoula, MT. 1977); and id., "The Philosophical Critique of Religion", *ANRW* II 16 47-58 (and a piece on Cynics in *ANRW* by A. J. MALHERBE, forthcoming). On the general question of our use of such writers as Dio, Epictetus, Plutarch, Lucian, etc., see my "A bas les Aristos", forthcoming.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Dio 32.9; for the relevance of this passage, cf. e.g. A. J. MALHERBE, *Moral Exhortation, a Greco-Roman Sourcebook* (Philadelphia 1986) 13.

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Dio 72.11, again.

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ Dio 1.50, 12.16, 13.9-14, 31, 34.2, 42.4-5, 54.3, 60.10.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Epictetus III xxii 26, xxiii 24, IV iv 26-27.

⁽¹¹²⁾ Epictetus I xxiii, III xxii 70-74.

geographically and socially⁽¹¹³⁾. I have argued elsewhere for the likelihood of Cynic ideas having affected the popular culture of Galilee in Jesus' own day⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

Dio's Greek is more 'cultured' than that of 'Q'; but his speeches were still 'popular' (competing, he notes with some little pleasure, with song-sheets in the markets)⁽¹¹⁵⁾. Epictetus' Greek is not unlike that of the New Testament. Diogenes Laertius' Cynic *chreiai* are simply told, even if carefully phrased for the most part as a single sentence. They were popular enough to constitute frequent school exercises: and schooling at that level affected a large number of people⁽¹¹⁶⁾. Cynic thought, and Cynic forms (such as the Cynic 'Life') are the ones most likely to have been known by pagans who became Christians, and very likely to have been known to Greek-speaking Jewish Christians.

The evidence of Lucian in the next century suggests that some Christians at least and some Cynics did quite clearly see their way of faith and life as very similar in many respects; and this conviction (among those better placed to judge than we are) continues into the next centuries⁽¹¹⁷⁾.

⁽¹¹³⁾ Ps. Crates 21.1, 31.1, ps. Diogenes 6.2, 12.1; Lucian, *Philosophies for Sale* 10, *Peregrinus* 2-3, *Demonax* 9, 11, 61, *Runaways* 12. Peregrinus's travels included Asia Minor, Syria including Palestine, Greece, Egypt and Italy including Rome, and was very public; compare also Philo, *de plantatione* 151.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ For a discussion of Cynicism in the Galilee of Jesus' day, see my "The Social Contexts of Jesus the Teacher", *NTS* 33 (1987) 439-451.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Dio 42.4-5.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ HOCK and O'NEILL, *The Chreia*, 'General Introduction'; S. F. BONNER, *Education in Ancient Rome* (Berkeley 1977); D. L. CLARK, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) VI, The Elementary Exercises; H. I. MARROU, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (New York 1956); V. K. ROBBINS, "Pronouncement Stories and Jesus' Blessing of the Children", *Semeia* 29 (1984) 43-74. Though the distinction between high and low literature is rightly questioned these days, a distinction between the written and the oral is still taken too seriously (e.g. KLOPPENBORG, "Formation", 448-449, citing W. KELBER, "Mark and Oral Tradition", *Semeia* 16 [1979] 22; and compare id. *The Oral and the Written Gospel* [Philadelphia 1983]). For a contrary argument, see F. G. DOWNING, "Ears to Hear", *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study*, (ed. A. E. HARVEY) (London 1985) 97-100, and references there, and "A bas les Aristos", (n. 107), forthcoming.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Lucian, *Peregrinus* 12, 15; and see my "Cynics and Christians", *NTS* 30 (1984) 591 and notes.

And, as already indicated, if the 'cash value', the implied or explicitly designated praxis, is at least an important component in meaning (and if we are to avoid the 'intentional fallacy' trap), then there is clearly a considerable overlap in meaning between Cynic and early Christian reflections, an overlap that would have been very visible, very public for existing Christians and those drawn to join the movement. Thus, if Cynic talk of divine care for animals, and Christian talk of God caring for animals both implied the acceptance of a simple hand-to-mouth existence, it would have been clear to both that they meant very similar things by what they said. And it should be as clear to us. If both not only lived simply but renounced the possession, the ownership of wealth, it would be clear that both had similar understandings of the threat wealth posed to their preferred life-style. And if Cynic and Christian responses to insult and assault were not simply an attempt to pretend not to notice, but involved practical steps towards reconciliation, it would have been obvious that both had similar positive ideas about human integrity and human flourishing. The examples can be multiplied from the material just surveyed, and more may readily be found.

It is still entirely possible that Cynics (and Christians) in close discussion among themselves, let alone with members of the other movement, might well have insisted on some niceties of difference between what they meant by apparently similar utterances⁽¹¹⁸⁾. If two Cynics and two Christians had uttered the same set of words, there might have been anything up to four different further explanations by each of what they meant. Nothing said here precludes that possibility or denies the value of investigating it. What is being said is that there is enough common ground, sufficient signs of agreed common meaning, for it to have been very likely that the people who produced 'Q' would have been aware of and (instinctively) used the model of the *Life* of a Cynic Philosopher in composing their collection of the sayings of Jesus. (After all, there is more common ground between the Cynic material and 'Q' than there is between 'Q' and the letters of Paul!)

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ See above, nn. 14 and 25.

IV. The 'Trajectory' of 'Q'

In his early article on the *Gattung* of 'Q' referred to above, J. M. Robinson discerned a 'trajectory' that curved on by way of such products as *Gospel of Thomas* into much more thoroughly fictitious discourses 'of' the risen Jesus, involving a theological movement that went by way of wisdom motifs into full-blown Gnosticism⁽¹¹⁹⁾.

If the case suggested here is accepted, it has two corollaries that would further modify Robinson's picture quite importantly. Firstly, 'Q' being already in one form of *bios genre*, it itself had from the start its most natural trajectory towards a fuller 'bios' form, as in Matthew and Luke⁽¹²⁰⁾.

Even more significantly, the closest relation to 'Q' would now have to be acknowledged as Cynic, and not as gnostic at all. Time and again, in footnotes (25) to (105) we have found themes common to 'Q' and the Cynic *Lives* (and also other broadly Cynic literature), yet missing from the *Gospel of Thomas*. Hardly ever (despite the common origins of some of their material) do 'Q' and the *Gospel of Thomas* agree against the Cynic *Lives* even in their choice of themes, and then only in incidentals (e.g., a reference to Pharisees).

And even more important is a comparison of the attitudes expressed to the themes introduced; here 'Q' and the Cynics are very much closer still than are 'Q' and the *Gospel of Thomas* (even where there are themes in common). The major emphasis in 'Q', as we have seen Robinson insisting, is on life-style, and speaking very generally, the same is true of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Yet, even while some elements of the latter might have made good sense to a Cynic or a Cynic-minded Christian, the total ethos of the *Gospel of Thomas* on the one side, and 'Q' and the Cynics on the other, is very different. The *Gospel of Thomas* advocated a simple living of an interior and largely solitary 'spiritual' life⁽¹²¹⁾. The simple life

(119) ROBINSON, "Logoi Sophon"; accepted by many others, KLOPPENBORG, "Formation", 448; HODGSON "Gattung", 75.

(120) KLOPPENBORG, *The Formation of Q*, 262, 327f., would in some measure, and independently, agree.

(121) *Gos Thom* 54, 'Blessed are the poor', and perhaps, 'Business men and merchants will not enter the places of my Father' (65), are the only at all

proposed by 'Q' and by the Cynics was fully physical and fully social, a very different 'spirituality'.

There is no direct evidence for any developed gnosticism in the first century to provide any kind of model for Christians, for living, or for literary composition⁽¹²²⁾, and the *Gospel of Thomas* represents a deflection of the 'natural' trajectory of 'Q', albeit a deflection prepared for by many tendencies in the first century. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence for the impact of Cynic philosophising in the first century, and it is that that guides the important trajectory of early Christian development represented by 'Q', and by its appearance in Matthew and in Luke.

If we want a *genre* for Q, then Cynic philosophical *Lives* resemble Q quite closely.

* * *

The more clearly we can recognise a firm setting for 'Q' in the evidenced socio-cultural milieu of the Greco-Roman world of the first century, the more confidence we may have in discerning its meaning in the life of those early Christians who shaped it, used it and passed it on. The more clearly we understand it in that context, the better placed we are to continue to press behind it to the teaching of Jesus himself. And the Cynic parallels suggested may allow the tradition of the social praxis of early followers and of Jesus himself to emerge not only with fresh clarity, but also with fresh force.

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obvious exceptions. At *Gos Thom* 16, the disciple is left quite alone, not with a new community; and so elsewhere.

⁽¹²²⁾ See my "Social Contexts of Jesus the Teacher".

SOMMAIRE

Les discussions récentes au sujet de 'Q' nous suggèrent que le genre de 'bios cynique' peut nous fournir un bon modèle. Si l'on considère les éléments formels, 'Q' ressemble à un 'bios cynique' aussi bien ou mieux qu'aux autres modèles qu'on propose (l'Évangile de Thomas, par exemple). Mais quand on analyse l'esprit et examine les détails, on y trouve encore beaucoup de similarités. Evidemment les cyniques et les chrétiens participaient à la vie publique des villes au premier siècle. La gnose ne peut pas nous donner un tel milieu ni une telle destination ('trajectoire') pour 'Q'. 'Bios' d'un propagandiste radical, 'Q' veut nous appeler, tout comme le faisaient les cyniques populaires, à la vie difficile des disciples.

The Newly Discovered Sixth Manuscript of Ben Sira from the Cairo Geniza

In February 1982, the Hungarian scholar Alexander Scheiber found a new leaf of The Wisdom of Ben Sira in Hebrew at the Cambridge University Library among the fragments from the Cairo Geniza in the Taylor-Schechter, Additional Series collection. He discovered it among the items classified as "Miscellanea and Unidentified". He published the new leaf (catalogued as T.-S. AS. 213.17) in an Hungarian journal that is not widely known⁽¹⁾. In a note he writes that Dr. Stefan C. Reif, Director of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, has stated: "It was Professor I. Yeivin of Hebrew University who sorted the box in Cambridge—1974 and *independently* identified this fragment as Ben Sira"⁽²⁾.

Prior to the discovery of this new leaf there had been only five known Cairo Geniza manuscripts of Ben Sira in Hebrew: MSS A, B, C, D, and E. Scheiber maintains that this new leaf is part of MS D (the so-called Rothschild manuscript of Paris) of which only a single leaf had been discovered and published in 1900⁽³⁾. Then Scheiber writes: "We publish photographs of both the AS and the Rothschild [*sic*]-manuscripts, so that the reader may judge for himself: the two belong together"⁽⁴⁾. Even a cursory examination of the new leaf and of (the Rothschild) MS D convinced me that the two could not possibly belong together.

The new leaf cannot be part of MS D for two principal reasons. First, the new leaf (like MSS B and E and the Masada MS of Ben

(1) A. SCHEIBER, "A Leaf of the Fourth [*sic*: read Sixth] Manuscript of the Ben Sira from the Geniza", *Magyar Könyvszemle* 98 (1982) 179-185. The title page describes the journal as "Revue de l'Académie Hongroise des sciences pour l'histoire du livre et de la presse".

(2) *Ibid.*, 180, n. 7.

(3) I. LÉVI, "Fragments de deux nouveaux manuscrits hébreux de l'Ecclésiastique", *REJ* 40 (1900) 1-30.

(4) SCHEIBER, "A Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript", 180.

Sira) is written stichometrically, a feature that can be clearly seen in the (rather poor) photographs of the *recto* and *verso* that Scheiber himself has published⁽⁵⁾. On the contrary, MS D (like MSS A and C) is not written stichometrically but continuously, a feature that is also obvious from the photographs of MS D that Scheiber has reproduced. Second, the handwriting in the new leaf differs from that of MS D. The new leaf cannot be part of MS E either, for the former contains some of the same verses as the latter. Moreover, the handwriting of the new leaf differs considerably from that of MS E.

Hence, I conclude that what Scheiber has found is a leaf of a new Ben Sira manuscript, which heretofore had been unknown. In keeping with the names assigned to the other five Geniza manuscripts of the book, I give the name MS F to this new find. Since Scheiber's published photographs of MS F are dark and not as legible as they could be, and since he made some errors in transcribing the text, I decided to go to Cambridge University Library in May 1987 in order to make my own transcription and edition of the text right from the original MS F itself and to obtain a fresh set of photographs of this important find⁽⁶⁾. At the foot of each page of the transcribed Hebrew text Scheiber simply reproduces, from the edition of M. H. Segal⁽⁷⁾, the readings of MSS B and E that differ from the text of MS F; he offers no critical comments about these variant readings and says nothing at all about the Greek, Syriac, and Latin witnesses to the passages in question. Hence, in my edition I have furnished a critical apparatus for MS F, utilizing the evidence of the other Hebrew MSS and of the Greek I, Greek II, Syriac, and Latin witnesses.

The material of MS F is paper, 16.3 cm. long by 14.4 cm. wide. Three of the four corners of the leaf have rotted away, so that part of the text of the *recto* and *verso* has perished. The script is in a cursive medium hand. Scheiber does not date the new manuscript; but the writing seems to be from the eleventh or twelfth century. It contains the text of 31,24–32,7 on the *recto*, which has twenty-one

(5) The photographs were bound upside down in the journal.

(6) I am grateful to The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., where I teach in the Department of Biblical Studies, for providing me with a grant to cover the major portion of my research expenses.

(7) *Sēper ben Sîrā' haššālēm* (Jerusalem 1958).

lines, with the penultimate line blank (before 32,7); and of 32,12–33,8 on the *verso*, which has twenty lines⁽⁸⁾.

Only one word of MS F is fully vocalized: *rēa'* in 31,31a. The verb *tôgēhû* in 31,31b has just the *ē*-vowel written in. In the photograph of the *verso*, one should note the peculiar way in which the Tetragrammaton is written (32,16a, in the second form of the verse; 33,1a; 32,24b; 33,8a, in that order). Since the printer cannot reproduce that symbol, I have followed in my transcription the practice of the scribe of MS B and used three *yod*'s to represent *yhwh*. As could be expected, MS F contains many readings that differ from MSS B and E. But MSS E and F are definitely related in some way, for they have many (often peculiar) readings in common, and both omit 32,23 and 33,3, which are extant in MS B, and give 33,1 before 32,24, whereas MS B has the correct (Greek) order of these verses. Though it is unlikely that MS F was copied from MS E, or vice versa, it is certain that both manuscripts derive from a common ancestor. The scribe of MS F made at least two certain errors: as the second word of 32,3a he wrote *šebet* instead of *šāb kī*, the correct reading that is found in MS B^{mt} and is supported by Greek and Latin (Syriac omits the verse); and in 32,5a² (= 2nd form of the verse) he wrote *zhwb* instead of *zhb*, found in MS B and reflected in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. Note also the order of verses in 32,13–16: vv. 13, 15, 14, 16. In MS B, the order is: vv. 13, 15¹, 14¹, 14², 15², 16.

Dr. Reif drew Scheiber's attention to the upper corner fragment of a broken leaf of MS C that Solomon Schechter had published at the beginning of this century⁽⁹⁾. This fragment (catalogued as T.-S. AS. 213.4) contains the missing portions of 25,8 on the *recto* and of 25,20–21 on the *verso*⁽¹⁰⁾. Since Scheiber made some errors also in editing this piece, I have made my own transcription from the original fragment of MS C in the Cambridge University Library. In my

(8) SCHEIBER did not give all the correct verse numbers to the text; he reports ("A Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript", 180) that the new leaf "contains verses 31:41–32:10 and 32:17–33:8".

(9) "A Further Fragment of Ben Sira", *JQR* 12 (1899–1900) 456–465. This fragment was catalogued as T.-S. 12.727.

(10) SCHEIBER, "A Leaf of the Fourth Manuscript", 180, again gives the wrong verse numbers for the fragment—25,11–12 for the *recto* and 25,23–24 for the *verso*.

edition I give also the parts of 25,8 and 25,20-21 that are found in the main portion of the leaf of MS C so that one can now see how the completed lines would read. I have transcribed the text stichometrically, as editors usually do, even though MS C is written continuously.

In my transcription of the Hebrew text, I have indicated a partial letter, whose value is virtually certain, by a small tick over the letter (ṣ̌). In the apparatus, I employed for the text of MS B the splendid reproductions found in *Facsimiles of the Fragments Hitherto Recovered of the Book of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew*⁽¹¹⁾, and the editions of S. Schechter and C. Taylor⁽¹²⁾, I. Lévi⁽¹³⁾, N. Peters⁽¹⁴⁾, R. Smend⁽¹⁵⁾, and M. H. Segal⁽¹⁶⁾. But for the text of MS E, I had to rely basically on the edition of J. Marcus⁽¹⁷⁾, for the photographs he published are of very poor quality and as a result are difficult and often impossible to read. For the Greek witnesses I utilized J. Ziegler's definitive edition of Greek I and Greek II⁽¹⁸⁾. For the Syriac I consulted A. M. Ceriani's sumptuous facsimile edition of the Ambrosian Codex (= Amb.) of the Peshitta⁽¹⁹⁾, the Walton polyglot (= Wal.)⁽²⁰⁾, P. A. Lagarde's diplomatic edition (= Lag.) of British Library Codex 12142 (sixth century)⁽²¹⁾, and the Mosul Peshitta (=

(11) Oxford and Cambridge 1901.

(12) *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Geniza Collection Presented to the University of Cambridge by the Editors* (Cambridge 1899).

(13) *The Hebrew Text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (Semitic Study Series 3; Leiden 1904; reprinted 1951).

(14) *Liber Jesu filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus hebraice* (Freiburg i.B. 1905).

(15) *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin 1906). This edition, though it is difficult to use, is the most reliable for a critical study of the Cairo Geniza fragments published up to 1900.

(16) See n. 7.

(17) *The Newly Discovered Original Hebrew of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxxii,16–xxxiv,1): The Fifth Manuscript and A Prosodic Version of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus xxii,22–xxiii,9)* (Philadelphia 1931). This is a corrected reprint of the article in *JQR* n.s. 21 (1930-31) 223-240.

(18) *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (Septuaginta 12/2; Göttingen 1965).

(19) *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI photolithographice edita*, 2/4 (Milan 1878).

(20) B. WALTON, *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, 4 (London 1657).

(21) *Libri Veteris Testamenti apocryphi syriace* (Leipzig and London 1861).

Mos.)⁽²²⁾. For the Old Latin I used the splendid critical edition published by the Benedictines at San Girolamo Abbey in Rome⁽²³⁾. I consulted the commentaries of R. Smend⁽²⁴⁾, N. Peters⁽²⁵⁾, G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley⁽²⁶⁾, and P. W. Skehan and A. A. Di Lella⁽²⁷⁾.

It is to be noted that most of the verses in MS F are also found in MS B, viz., 31,24-32,22; 32,24-33,2; and that MS E likewise has some of the verses of MS F, viz., 32,16-22; 32,24-33,2.4-8. Curiously, however, as noted above, both MS F and MS E omit 32,23 and 33,3, verses that are found in MS B (although 33,3b is partially damaged) and of course in Greek and Latin; Syriac has 32,23 but omits 33,2-4. The text of 32,16-22.24 and 33,1-2 is found in MSS B, E, and F.

⁽²²⁾ *Biblia sacra juxta versionem simplicem quae dicitur Pschitta*, 2 (Beirut 1951).

⁽²³⁾ *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, 12: *Sapientia Salomonis, Liber Hiesu filii Sirach* (Rome 1964).

⁽²⁴⁾ *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin 1906). This is the most valuable of the older commentaries for the textual criticism of the book.

⁽²⁵⁾ *Das Buch Jesus Sirach oder Ecclesiasticus* (Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 25; Münster i.W. 1913). This work is also important for critical observations on the text of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts.

⁽²⁶⁾ "Sirach", in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 1 (ed. R. H. CHARLES) (Oxford 1913).

⁽²⁷⁾ *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; Garden City, N.Y. 1987).

MS F *Folio 1a* (TAB. I)

^a [דעת רועו נאמנה:]	^a [רע על לחם ירגז ^b] בִּשְׁעָרִי.	31,24
^d [כי] רבים [הכשיל ^g תירוש:]	^d [וגם ^e על היין אל תתג ^f] כִּרְ.	25
^k כן היין למצ ^k ות ^k לצים:]	^h [כור ⁱ בוחן] מעשה לוטש.	26
^l אם ישתנו [במתכנתו:]	^l [מלמי היין] חיים ^m לאנוש.	27ab
ⁿ שה[וא] מרא[שית ⁿ לשמחה ^o נוצר:]	ⁿ [מה חיים] חסר היין.	27cd ¹
^r יין נשת ^r ה ה[ב]עת ^s וראי:]	^r [שמחת] לב וששון ועדוי.	28

^{a-a} = MS B. Syr omits the verse.

^b Smend and Peters suggest that ירגז (= Gr διαγογγύσει) should be read here.

^c Smend reads רעת, but I read, with Lévi and Segal, דעת. MS B^m has עדות, which = Gr ἡ μαρτυρία.

^{d-d} = MS B.

^e Gr omits; Syr omits the waw.

^f = Gr ἀνδρίζου and Syr **ܐܢܕܪܝܙܘܢ** (cf. Isa 5,22); but σοφίζου is found in c-404'-679 155 429 755.

^g Gr has ἀπώλεσεν = Lat *exterminavit* = Syr **ܐܡܬܐ**.

^{h-h} = MS B; but MS B also has a doublet:

נבון בוחן מעשה מעשה כן שכר לריב לצים.

ⁱ Since Syr reads **ܐܡܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܡܢܐ** and Gr 493 has ὡς κάμι-
νος (Lat [one MS] *sicut ignis*), it is possible that the lacuna in MS F also had בכור.

^j MS B^m ביתן.

^{k-k} MS B^m כי היית מצות.

^{l-l} = MS B.

^{m-m} Read as the first word למי, vocalized *lēmô*; MS B's למי is a case of confusion of waw and yod, as often in the Geniza MSS of Sirach (cf. A. A. DI LELLA, *The Hebrew Text of Sirach: A Text-Critical and Historical Study* [Studies in Classical Literature 1; The Hague 1966] 97-101). The particle *lēmô* is a poetic form of *lē-*; cf. Job 27,14; 29,21; 38,40; 40,4. Smend and Box-Oesterley stay with למי, vocalized *lēmê*, and then transpose the second and third words, thus reading "The wine is water of life..." (cf. Gr ἔφισον ζῶης οἶνος and Syr **ܐܡܢܐ ܠܡܝ ܡܝܐ ܕܝܝܢܐ**); there is no need for changing the word order once the reading *lēmô* is accepted.

ⁿ⁻ⁿ = MS B.

^{o-o} = Syr. Gr εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἀνθρώπων (S* L²⁴⁸-315' 443; ἀνθρώποις rel.); Lat *in iucunditate (creatum est) non in ebrietate ab initio*.

^p MS B^m באר שית.

^q MS B^m נוצרו.

^{r-r} = MS B.

^s = Gr ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ (L²⁴⁸ Eth); cf. Syr **ܐܡܢܐ ܠܡܝ** (Amb., Lag.). MS B^m בעת = Gr ἐν καιρῷ (most MSS); Syr **ܐܡܢܐ ܠܡܝ** (Wal., Mos.).

והוא לגיל [נחלק מראש:] ^f	חיים למה יחסר תירוש.	27cd ²
ו"יין נשתה בתח[רה] וכעס:] ^w	כאב ראש לענה ^v ורוש.	29
מחסר כח ומספיקי [פצעי:] ^x	מרבה חמר לכסיל נוקש.	30
ואל תוגהול בחדותו:	במשתה יינ ^a אל תוכח רע. ^b	31ab
דואל תקמיעהו בנגשה ^d יואל תריב	דבר חרפה אל תאמר לו.	31cd
ועמו שלעיני כל אדם: ^{ce}		
נובראש עשירים אל תסתוריה ^h	בראש סמוך יאל תותר. ⁱ	32,1
והיה מלך כאחד מהם: ^m		

^{f-i} MS B also has a second form of v. 27cd following v. 28:

חיי מה לחסר תירוש והוא לגיל נחלק מראש.

Smend and Lévi think that this is the original form of the bicolon.

^w Smend and Box-Oesterley emend לענה of MS B to read לענ; this emendation is uncalled for since MS F is now a further witness to the reading לענה; cf. Deut 29,17; Amos 6,12; Jer 9,14; 23,15; Lam 3,15.19; Prov 5,4.

^v MS B וקלח.

^{w-w} = MS B.

^x = MS B^{ms}; B^{mt} מוקש.

^y MS B ומספק.

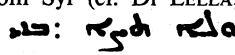
^z = MS B = Gr, Lat, and Syr; B^{ms} פחד.

^a MS B היין. The rest of the bicolon in MS B is only partly legible.

^b So pointed in the MS.

^c In MS B^{mt} the rest of this line is destroyed.

^{d-d} This colon could easily have fit into the lacuna of MS B^{mt}. The verb קמ, "to press, squeeze" (cf. MT קמש), is an Aramaism. This text is the original colon and forms the basis of Gr καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν θλίψῃς ἐν ἀπαντήσῃ αὐτοῦ (248; ἀπαντήσῃ most other MSS).

^{e-e} This colon is either an example of Hebrew Text II of Sirach (cf. SKHAN-DI LELLA, *Ben Sira*, 55-56), or a retroversion from Syr (cf. DI LELLA, *Hebrew Text of Sirach*, 106-147), substituting כל for בנ: 

^{f-f} MS B [עמו לעיני בני אדם:] = Syr.

^{g-g} Note, in the photograph, how these words were squeezed into the space above the line.

^{h-h} None of this text is extant on the last line of the damaged leaf (*recto*) of MS B.

ⁱ⁻ⁱ Cf. Gen 49,4.

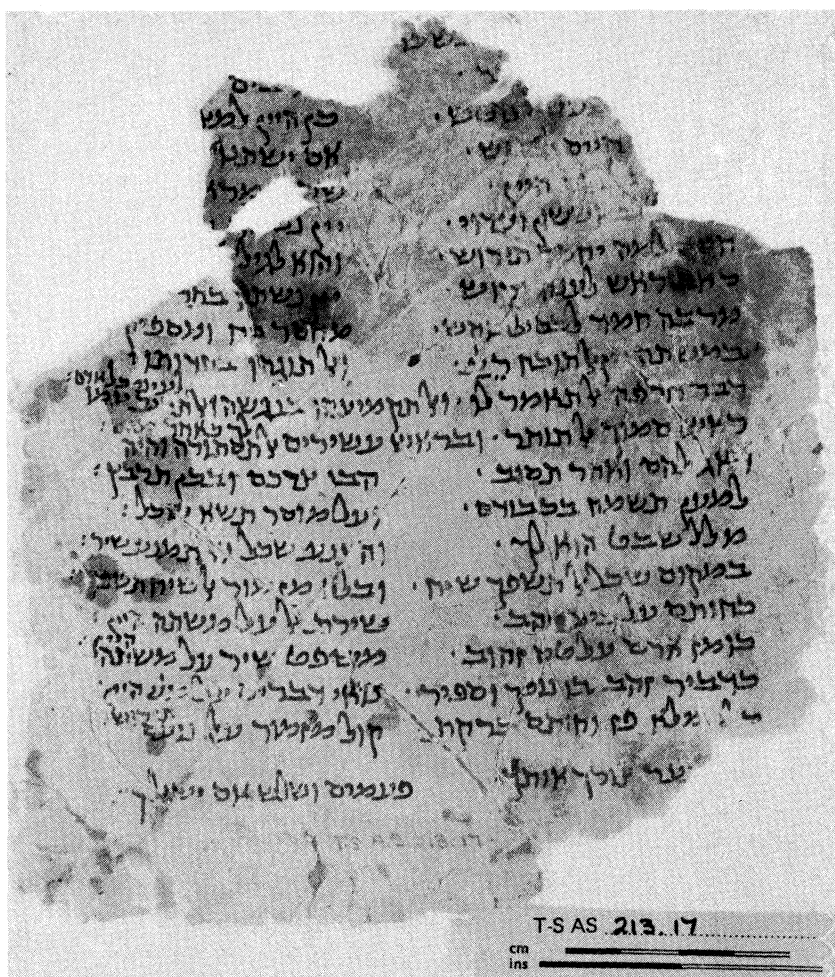
^{j-j} Cf. Syr . Gr omits this colon.

^k If this form is correct, the root and meaning of the text are uncertain.

^{l-l} = Syr, except that Syr omits the initial waw. MS B reads (in the first colon of the *verso* of the leaf): היה להם כאחד מהם = Gr.

^{m-m} Note, in the photograph, how these words were squeezed into the space above the line.

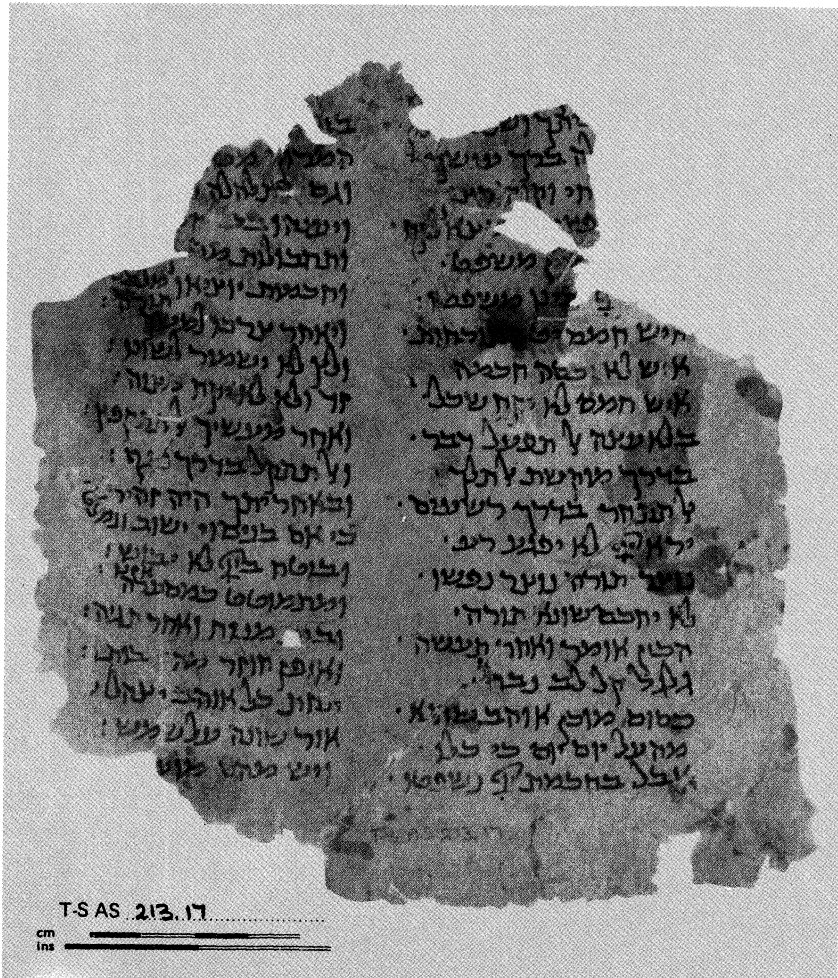
(Tab. I)



By courtesy of Cambridge University Library

MS F, Folio 1a [T.-S. AS. 213.17a]

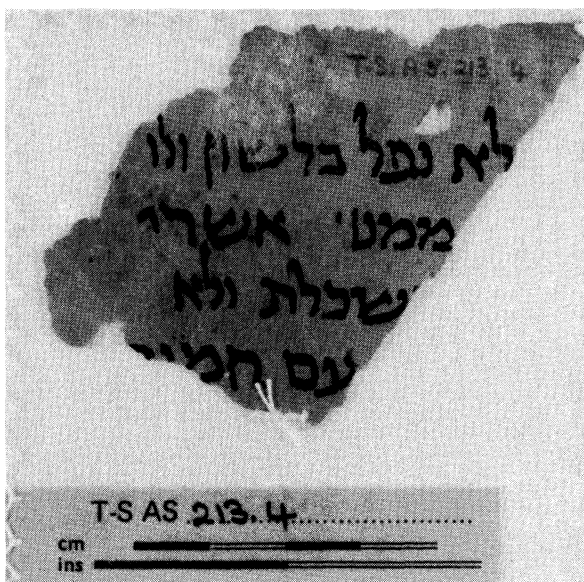
(TAB. II)



By courtesy of Cambridge University Library

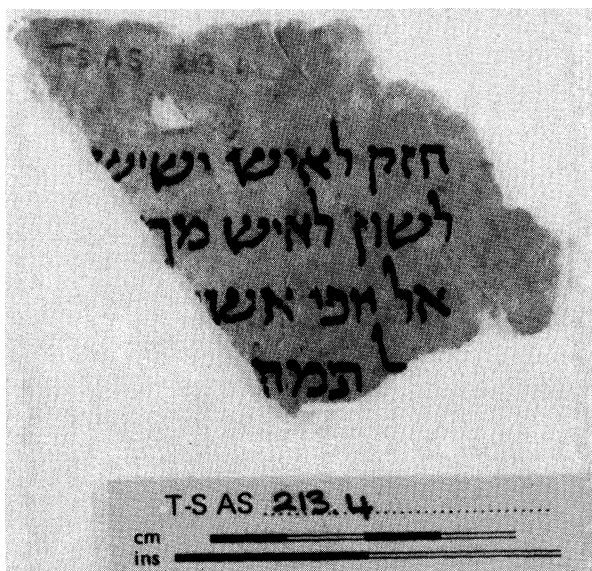
MS F, Folio 1b [T.-S. AS. 213.17b]

(TAB. III)



MS C, *Folio 1a* [T.-S. AS. 213.4a]

(TAB. IV)



By courtesy of Cambridge University Library

MS C, *Folio 1b* [T.-S. AS. 213.4b]

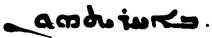
הבוי צרכם ובכני תרבי:	ⁿ נראג להם ואחר תסוב.	1d.2a
ועל מוסר תשא שכל: ^q	^q למען תשמח בכבודם. ^r	2bc
^v והצנע שכל ^w ואל תמנע שיר:	^u מלל שבטי הוא לך.	3
^y ובלא מזמור אל שיה תשפך:	^x במקום שכל ^x אל תשפך שיה.	4
שירת ^a אל על משתה היין:	^z זכחותם על כיס זהב.	5 ¹
משפט שיר על משתה היין: ^z	כומז אדם ^b על טסי זהוב. ^d	5 ²
נואי ⁱ דברים ^j על מ- ^k היין:	^e כדביר ^f זהב בור ^h נופך וספיר. ^h	6 ¹


ⁿ⁻ⁿ = MS B.

^o MS B הכין.

^p MS B^{ms} ובכני; B^{xt} ואחר.

^{q-q} = MS B.

^r Gr δι' αὐτοῦς = בעבורם, which is the emendation Smend suggests (cf. 40,10b; 44,22b; 47,12b). Syr .


^s Gr στέφανον, Syr ; cf. 25,6 (not extant in Heb) where these same two nouns are used.


^t An obvious error. Read, with MS B (and Gr and Lat) שב כי; B^{ms} שכני and שכני. Syr omits the verse.

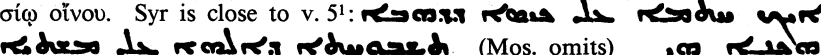

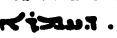
^u = MS B; B^{ms} הולך.

^{v-v} = MS B.

^w MS B^{ms} ולכת; cf. Mic 6,8.

^{x-x} MS B במקום האין = Syr . Gr ὅπου ἀκρόαμα = במקום האין (so Schechter-Taylor), which may be the original reading.

^{y-y} MS B gives two cola here: שיה ובל עת מה תתחכם. Only the second colon (= Gr καὶ ἀκαιρως μὴ σοφίζου) is original; cf. Syr .

^{z-z} Both MSS F and B give two forms of this bicolon; only one is called for. Gr σφραγίς ἀνθρακος ἐπὶ κόσμῳ χρυσῷ σύγκριμα μουσικῶν ἐν συμποσίῳ οἴνου. Syr is close to v. 5¹:  (Mos. omits) . .

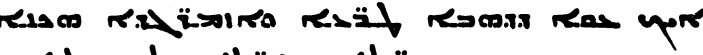
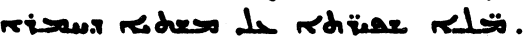
^a = MS B^{ms}; B^{xt} שיר.

^b MS B אודם.

^c An Aramaism meaning "foil, thin plate". MS B ניב; B^{ms} זיר and נוב (cf. Isa 57,19).

^d An error for זהב, as in MS B.

^{e-e} Both MSS F and B give two forms of this bicolon; only one is called for. Gr ἐν κατασκευάσματι χρυσῷ (χρυσου L²⁴⁸) σφραγίς σμαράγδου μέλος μουσικῶν ἐφ' ἧδεῖ οἶνον.

Syr  .

^f The scribe transposed the ܪ and ܕ to give this interesting (but wrong)

קול מזמור על נועם תירוש: ⁶	^l כלי מלא' פז וחזותם ברקת. ^m	6 ²
פעמים ושלש אם ישאלך: ^o	ⁿ [דבר] נער צורך אותך. ⁿ	7

MS F *Folio 1b* (TAB. II)

^q כי[ראת אל ולא בחסר ^s כל]: ^q	^q [פטר] ל[ביתך ז'שלם [ר]צון. ^r	12
המרוך מט[ובתו]: ^u	^u [ויעל (כ)ל (א)]לה ברך עושך. ^v	13
^x וגם מתלהלה י[וקש בו]: ^x	^w [דרש אל] חי וקוה רצון. ^w	15
ויענהו בכל תפ[לתו]: ^y	^y [דורש ח]פצי [אל] מוצא לקח.	14

reading; cf. 45,9. MS B כרביד is certainly the correct reading, as is obvious from Syr and indirectly from Gr.

^s MS B ובו.

^{h-h} MS B נפך וספיר (cf. Exod 28,18; 39,11; Isa 28,13); B^m נהפך ספיר.

ⁱ MS B נאים; cf. Syr.

^j MS B adds יפים.

^k After מ the scribe wrote what appears to be a broken ש (no left stroke) with a small vertical line over it (see photograph). He probably meant this as an abbreviation, to save space, of משתה (so MS B) that appears in the line and position directly above it.

^{l-l} MS B מלואות (cf. Exod 28,17,20; 39,13); B^m מלא.

^m Cf. Exod 28,17; 39,10.

ⁿ⁻ⁿ There is a one-line space before this bicolon (see photograph). MS B דבר נער אם צריך אתה בחזק. אתך B^m. Syr omits the bicolon.

^{o-o} = MS B.

^p MS B^m ישא לך.

^{q-q} = MS B.

^{r-r} Gr καὶ ποίει τὰ ἐνθυμήματά σου, which is close to Syr **ܐܬܝܬܝܢܐ**.

ܐܬܝܬܝܢܐ.

^{s-s} = Syr **ܐܬܝܬܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܐܕܐ ܕܡܠܐܕܐ**.

^t Though MS B has כל, MS F may have read לב, which makes better sense.

^{u-u} = MS B = Gr (but "all" is omitted) = most of Syr (see note v).

^v Syr **ܐܬܝܬܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ**.

^{w-w} = MS B^m; B^m [י]קוה רצון וצא.

^{x-x} MS B ומתלהלה יוקש בו; then after two forms of v. 14, MS B has another form of v. 15: דורש תורה יפיקנה ומתלהלה יוקש בה. Gr ὁ ζητῶν νόμον ἐμπλησθήσεται αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ὑποκρινόμενος σκανδαλισθήσεται ἐν αὐτῷ. Syr omits v. 15.

^{y-y} MS B has two forms of this bicolon:

ומשחררו ישיג מענה
ויענהו בתפלתו

דורש אל יקח מוסר
דורש חפצי אל יקח לקח.

20	בדרך מוקשת אל תלך.	ואל תתקל בדרך נגף: ^ח
21	סאל תתחר יבדרך רשעים.	22 ובאחריתך ^י היה זהיר:סי
33,1	זירא יי לא יפגע רע.	כי אם בניסוי ^י ישוב ^י ונמלט:
32,24	נוצר תורה נוצר ^י נפשו.	יובוטח ביי ^י לא יבוש:יכ
33,2	עלא יחכם שונא תורה.	ומתמוטט כמסערה ^ז אונז: ^א
4	cbהכין אומר ^c edואחר תעשה ^e .	יבית מנוח ואחר ^d תגיה:יז
5	hגלגל קל ^h לב נבל ⁱ .	יאופן חוזר מחשבותיו: ^י

^{ח-ח} MS B בנגף פעמים, the original reading; Syr is close: **ܒܢܓܦܐ**. Gr ἐν λιθώδεσιν is probably an inner Greek error for λίθω δίς (so Hart); cf. Isa 8,14. MS E בדרך פְּעָמַיִם.

^{ס-ס} MS B has this bicolon in two forms:

a אל תבטח בדרך מחתף^ב ובאחריתך השמר
c אל תבטח בדרך רשעים^ד ובארחתיך הזהר

(MS B^{ms} is unclear but probably has רשעים and הזהר.) The original bicolon is found in a and d (d = Syr).

^{פ-פ} = MS E, which has a lacuna at the beginning: [ב.דרך].

^ק = Gr ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων σου.

^י Both MSS F and E omit v. 23. Note that both MSS also give 33,1 before 32,24.

^י MSS B and E בנסי.

^י = MS E. MS B^{ms} ושב = Gr καὶ ἀλὶν = Syr **ܡܫܒܐ**. MS B^{ms} is damaged here, but probably read ישוב.

^י = MS E; MS B שומר (cf. Prov 16,17).

^{י-י} = MSS B and E.

^י Gr 248 ἐπ' αὐτῷ = Lat.

^י Gr ἐλαττωθήσεται; Syr **ܢܫܬܠܬܐ**.

^י Syr omits vv. 2-4.

^י = MS E. MS B^{ms} במסער; B^{ms} is damaged: ... כמס.

^א Marcus has אנו in his transcription of MS E. In the note he writes that M. L. Margolis suggests that the MS read אנוי, "a ship", a reading Marcus follows later in his translation; cf. Gr πλοῖον. MS B has only part of א extant.

^ב Both MSS F and E omit v. 3, the last verse extant in MS B, which is missing 33,4-35,11.

^{ס-ס} = Gr ἐτοίμασον λόγον; MS E has only final γ extant.

^{ד-ד} = MS E.

^{ע-ע} Gr καὶ οὕτως ἀκουσθήσῃ.

^י This text is probably corrupt; cf. Marcus. Gr σύνδησον παιδείαν καὶ (+ τότε O-V 248 b etc.; + οὕτως S L'-248-315' a etc.) ἀποκρίθητι.

^י MS E גליה, a difficult reading, now confirmed by MS F.

^{י-י} MS E has a lacuna here. Gr τροχὸς ἀμάξης; Syr **ܡܠܝܬܐ**.

ܡܠܝܬܐ.

^{י-י} Syr **ܠܒܢܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ**; Gr σπλάγχνα μωροῦ.

^{י-י} Gr καὶ ὥς ἄξιων στρεφόμενος ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ. Syr

תחת כל אוהב ^k יצהל ^l :	כסוס מוכן ^k אוהב שונא ^l .	6
אור שונה על ^q שמש ^p :	מה על יום ^o יום כי כלו ^p .	7
ויש מהם מוע ^r רם ^s [:]	אבל בחכמת ^r יי נשפטו ^s .	8

MS C Folio 1a (TAB. III)

^d ול ⁱ (עבר נקלה) ממנו.	^a (אשרי ש)לא נפל בלשון	25,8c
^b ולא ^b (חורש כשור) עם חמו ^r [:].	אשרי (בעל אשה מ)שכלת	a

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ. Syr misread ܥܝܪܐ as ܥܝܪܐ, “pig” (so Box-Oesterley).

^{k-k} = Syr ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ. Gr ἵππος εἰς ὄχ(ε)ίαν (with many variants). MS E has a lacuna here.

^{l-l} = MS E. Syr ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ; Gr ὡς φίλος μωκός (φ. μοιχός V L⁻²⁴⁸; φ. μωρός Sc 547; φιλομοιχός b).

^m MS E has a lacuna here. Syr ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ; Gr ἐπικαθημένου.

ⁿ = MS E, Gr, and Syr.

^{o-o} MS E has a lacuna before the final ܡ.

^{p-p} A difficult, if not corrupt, text. Gr διὰ τί ἡμέρα ἡμέρας ὑπερέχει, καὶ πᾶν φῶς ἡμέρας ἐνιαυτοῦ ἀφ’ ἡλίου; Syr ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ (Wal., Mos. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ) ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

^q MS E על[מ].

^{r-r} MS E מת בחכמת []; Marcus describes the two letters after the lacuna as “evidently the remains of בחכמת which the scribe cancelled and rewrote”.

^{s-s} Syr is close: ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ. Gr ἐν γνώσει κυρίου διεχωρίσθησαν.

^{t-t} = MS E. Gr καὶ ἡλλοίωσεν καιροὺς καὶ ἐορτάς. Syr ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ (Wal., Mos. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ) ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

^a The text in parentheses is from the leaf of MS C (T.-S. 12.727) that was published in 1900; see n. 9 above. Note the order of the cola in these two bicolae. Syr has the right order (and number of cola):

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ a
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ b
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ c
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ d

MS C Folio 2b (TAB. IV)

^d (אשת) לשון לאיש מך.	^c (כמעלה) חזק לאיש ישיש.	25,20
^h (א)ל תמה(ך.)	(אל תפול) אל יופי אש(ה)	21

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Gr has the right order but omits colon *b*:

a μακάριος ὁ συνοικῶν γυναικὶ συνετῇ,

c καὶ ὁ ἐν γλώσσει οὐκ ὠλίσθησεν,

d καὶ ὁς οὐκ ἐδούλευσεν ἀναξίῳ ἑαυτοῦ.

^b The scribe was inconsistent in spelling the negative particle *ἀλ*.

^{c-c} Gr ὡς (L-672-743) ἀνάβασις ἀμμώδης ἐν ποσὶν πρεσβυτέρου = Syr

ܠܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

^{d-d} = Gr, except for οὕτως at the beginning. Syr ܠܡܥܬܐ, ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

ܠܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

^e Gr προσπέσης; Syr ܕܡܪܝܬܐ.

^f = Gr; Syr adds ܠܡܥܬܐ.

^{g-g} Syr ܠܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ. Gr is corrupt: καὶ γυναῖκα (B V-253 L-743; + ἐν κάλλει *rel.*).

^h Gr ἐπιθυμῆσης (*a*-543' *b c* etc.) = Syr ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ = תחמך.

ANIMADVERSIONES

Zechariah and the Benedictus (Luke 1,68-79) Practicing What He Preaches

Recent discussions of the Benedictus have focussed on its provenance⁽¹⁾, language⁽²⁾, structure⁽³⁾, and function in Luke-Acts⁽⁴⁾. Little attention though has been given to the question of why it should be Zechariah who speaks these words. Machen's suggestion⁽⁵⁾ that the association with Zechariah reflects their true source, goes beyond the evidence. The recent view that the hymn is the response of praise from one who has waited patiently for God's saving action⁽⁶⁾ has the merit of highlighting the theme of fulfillment,

⁽¹⁾ *Jewish Christian* — so P. BENOIT, "L'enfance de Jean-Baptiste selon Luc 1", *NTS* 3 (1957) 169-194; D. R. JONES, "The Background and Character of the Lukan Psalms", *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968) 19-50; R. E. BROWN, *The Birth of the Messiah* (New York 1977) 350-355; J. A. FITZMYER, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX* (AB 28; Garden City, New York 1981) 372-390; S. FARRIS, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narrative* (JSNT 9; Sheffield 1985) 86-98.

Jewish — so H. GUNKEL, "Die Lieder in der Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu bei Lukas", *Festgabe A. von Harnack* (Tübingen 1921) 43-60; P. WINTER, "Magnificat and Benedictus — Maccabean Psalms?", *BJRL* 37 (1954-5) 328-347.

Baptist — so P. VIELHAUER, "Das Benedictus des Zacharias", *ZTK* 49 (1952) 252-272.

Lucan — so A. VON HARNACK, "Das Magnificat der Elisabeth (Luk 1,46-55) nebst einigen Bemerkungen zu Luk 1 und 2", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 27 (1900) 538-566; A. VON HARNACK, *Luke the Physician* (ET; London 1907) Appendix II 199-218, and main text 101-105; H. J. CADBURY, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York 1927) 193 also tentatively concluded Lucan authorship.

⁽²⁾ For BROWN, *Birth*, 246, the issue is deadlocked. But FARRIS argues (*Hymns*, 50; also FARRIS, "Semitic Sources in Luke 1 and 2", *Gospel Perspectives II* [ed. R. T. FRANCE — D. WENHAM] [Sheffield 1981] 201-237) for a Hebrew, not Greek original.

⁽³⁾ A. VANHOYE, "Structure du 'Benedictus'", *NTS* 12 (1965-66) 382-389 and P. AUFFRET, "Note sur la structure littéraire de Luc. 1:68-79", *NTS* 24 (1978) 248-258 propose chiastic structures. The dominant view has seen a two part structure (P. BENOIT, "L'enfance", 185-186; BROWN, *Birth*, 380; FARRIS, *Hymns*, 128-133).

⁽⁴⁾ For example FARRIS, *Hymns*, 151-160, focuses on the motifs of Promise and Fulfillment, and the Restoration of Israel. See also P. S. MINEAR, "Luke's Use of the Birth Stories", *Studies in Luke-Acts* (ed. L. E. KECK — J. L. MARTYN) (London 1968) 111-130, esp. 115-118. H. CONZELMANN's exclusion (*The Theology of St. Luke* [New York 1961] 16, n. 3) of the birth narrative has been widely recognised to be mistaken.

⁽⁵⁾ J. L. MACHEN, "The Hymns of the First Chapter of Luke", *Princeton Theological Review* 10 (1912) 1-38, esp. 36-37.

⁽⁶⁾ So FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 376; FARRIS, *Hymns*, 95-96. H. W. BEYER, *TDNT* 2

but it does not adequately reflect the significance of Zechariah in Luke 1⁽⁷⁾. It is Simeon more than Zechariah who is presented as the model of the one who has waited patiently (Luke 2,25-35)⁽⁸⁾. Why then should it be Zechariah who speaks these words?

1. *The Portrayal of Zechariah (Luke 1,5-67)*

Our starting point is to note briefly two inter-related features of Luke's presentation of Zechariah in 1,5-66⁽⁹⁾. In 1,5, Zechariah is introduced as a worshipper. He is a *hiereus* on priestly duty in the temple (1,8-9). It is while he is engaged in worship that Zechariah is addressed by God (1,11-20), and the chapter closes with Zechariah's expression of praise (1,64.68-79).

In 1,6 the second characteristic is presented — Zechariah is the righteous one (*dikaïos*)⁽¹⁰⁾. One cannot help but observe the intensity with which Luke underscores this quality. Luke's predominant use of *dikaïos* is to describe God's servants who do God's will. It is used of John the Baptist (Luke 1,17), of Simeon (Luke 2,25), of Joseph of Arimathea (Luke 23,50), and of Jesus (Luke 23,47; Acts 3,14; 7,52; 22,14)⁽¹¹⁾. In this select company Zechariah is placed. But his righteousness is not only established by association. Divine approval is expressed in the prepositional phrase *enantion tou theou*⁽¹²⁾.

The rest of v. 6 establishes further the content of *dikaïos*. Luke employs *poreuomai* with an ethical sense to denote Zechariah's living. His life is marked by obedience to *pasais* (emphatic and comprehensive) *tais entolais kai dikaiōmasin*⁽¹³⁾. *Entolais* is not frequent in Luke-Acts (5 times); it is

(1964) 761, sees Zechariah as a true Israelite praising God. BROWN, *Birth*, 347, 378, seems to see Zechariah as the representative of an Anawim piety of Jerusalem Christians.

(7) For convenience, I retain the traditional designation for the author but do not discuss the issue of authorship.

(8) For Luke's interest in models and examples, see "Jesus as the Model for the Apostles in Acts" and "Moses as the Model of the Prophet" in L. T. JOHNSON, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (Missoula 1977) chap. 1.

(9) See the relevant sections in the commentaries for more detailed discussion — BROWN, *Birth*; FITZMYER, *Gospel*; and I. H. MARSHALL, *The Gospel of Luke* (Exeter 1978).

(10) In the text the adjective is of course plural (*dikaioi*) referring to both Zechariah and Elizabeth. Because the Benedictus is attributed only to Zechariah (1,64.67) we will restrict our discussion to him.

(11) *Dikaïos* — 17 times in Luke-Acts. It can also be used of hypocrites (Luke 18,9; 20,20), and of conduct and values pleasing to God (Luke 12,57; Acts 4,19), for which the reward is resurrection (Luke 14,14; Acts 24,15).

(12) *enantion* is used for the presence of both God and human beings (cf. Luke 1,8; 20,26; 24,19). With the first sense it is synonymous with *enōpion* in the Benedictus (Luke 1,75; cf. 1,15.19; 5,25).

(13) The commentaries (n. 9) and entries in *TDNT* note the influence of OT language of piety and obedience to God's will. There is no need to document it here. Its effect is to highlight Zechariah's exemplary righteousness.

used specifically of God's commandments (Luke 18,20; 23,56) as well as more generally — in the parable of the prodigal son, it denotes the father's will (Luke 15,29). Only one who fulfills the *dikaiōma* of the Lord can be deemed *dikaïos* and *amemptos*⁽¹⁴⁾.

Verse 7 introduces a situation in which these two aspects of Zechariah's character are demonstrated. In the context of worship, God's call and mercy effect fecundity in barrenness as a child is promised (1,11-25), born and named (1,57-66). Childlessness could conventionally be seen as punishment⁽¹⁵⁾, but 1,5-6 rule out this interpretation with the emphasis on *dikaïos*. In the exchange of 1,18-20 with the angel, Zechariah's attempt to gain assurances regarding the promise (1,13) brings a rebuke for unbelief and a punishment of silence until the birth is accomplished (1,20)⁽¹⁶⁾. But significantly, the subsequent narrative reinterprets this silence without reference to punishment. The silence functions as a sign to the waiting congregation that something wonderful has happened (v. 22). Then, after the birth, the ending of the silence (v. 64) dramatizes Zechariah's righteousness. In obedience to the angel's revelation of God's will (1,13), and contrary to the pressures of neighbors, relatives and tradition (1,58-61), he insists with Elizabeth on naming the child John (1,63)⁽¹⁷⁾. Such righteous obedience brings the miraculous return of his speech⁽¹⁸⁾. Typically, the first act of this righteous one is to praise God (1,64). The two qualities which marked the initial presentation of Zechariah (1,5-6) — a worshipper and a righteous one — are thus exhibited in the events of John's birth. The scene is set for the Benedictus.

2. Functions of the Benedictus

The Benedictus has usually been regarded as a hymn expressing praise to God. The introduction at 1,64 (*eulogōn ton theon*⁽¹⁹⁾), the hymnic formula

⁽¹⁴⁾ *dikaiōma* and *amemptos* (see W. GRUNDMANN, "*memphomai*", *TDNT* 4 [1967] 571-574) are hapax legomena in Luke.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Note the blessing of children (Gen 1,28; Ps 127,3-5; Ps 128,3.4.6); the shame of no children (Gen 16,4.11); and the divine punishment of childlessness (Lev 20,20-21; 2 Sam 6,23; Jer 22,30; 36,30). Parallels with mothers of leading OT figures who experience divine intervention are frequently drawn (see BROWN, *Birth*, 268-269). Zechariah and Elizabeth are placed in this tradition. The parallels between Elizabeth and Mary (FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 313-314) also need to include that, for Luke, God honors human beings in situations of apparent disgrace (so Elizabeth — *oneidos* 1,25) to accomplish his saving purposes.

⁽¹⁶⁾ The verb *plēroun* in Luke underlines the fulfillment of divine promises and the plan of salvation history (so Luke 4,2; and especially 24,44).

⁽¹⁷⁾ See the discussion in FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 380-381.

⁽¹⁸⁾ *parachrēma* (in Luke-Acts 16 of 18 NT usages) is important here. In most of its 16 usages (except Luke 19,11; Act 16,33?) it denotes the occurrence of a miracle.

⁽¹⁹⁾ H. W. BEYER, "*Eulogō*", *TDNT* 2 (1964) 745-763 expands the Septuagintal usage, especially its dominant cultic context. The verb occurs fifteen times in Luke-Acts; the blessing is directed to a person (8x — Luke 1,42 (2x); 2,34; 6,28; 24,50; 24,51; Acts 3,25.26); and to God/Jesus (7x — Luke 1,64; 2,28; 9,16;

of 1,68 (*eulogētos kyrios*⁽²⁰⁾), features of hymnic style (poetic expression in the midst of prose, complex sentence structure⁽²¹⁾, infinitives⁽²²⁾), its likely strophic arrangement⁽²³⁾, linguistic parallels with the Psalms⁽²⁴⁾, and its form-critical designation as a Declarative Psalm of Praise⁽²⁵⁾ support this traditional claim. Zechariah the worshipper rejoices in God's saving act. But closer analysis indicates a further function. The unit is addressed not only to God but also to human beings. Along with praise, proclamation is expressed⁽²⁶⁾.

The Benedictus has two introductions. We have noted the first at 1,64 which establishes a hymnic function. The second introduction at v. 67, immediately prior to the unit, points towards a proclamatory function by its use of quite different introductory verbs — *eprophēteusen* ("he prophesied"), and *eplēsthē* ("he was filled"). If Luke had wished to emphasize the expression

13,35; 19,38; 24,30.53). The accusative object in 1,64 makes its direction here explicit.

(20) See BEYER, *TDNT* 2 754-756. R. DEICHGRÄBER, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit; Untersuchungen zu Form, Sprache und Stil der frühchristlichen Hymnen* (Göttingen 1967) 30-32, lists numerous hymnic examples. This expression of praise to God continues in the NT where all references but one (Mark 14,61) express praise (Rom 1,25; 9,5; 2 Cor 1,3; 11,31; Eph 1,3; 1 Pet 1,3).

(21) W. H. GLOER, "Homologies and Hymns in the New Testament: Form, Content and Criteria for Identification", *Perspectives in Religious Studies* 11 (1984) 115-132, esp. p. 132 notes this feature of lengthy sentences. Compare Phil 2,6-11 which also has two sentences.

(22) GUNKEL, "Die Lieder", 50-51, cites examples from Psalms and Pss of Sol. JONES, "Background", 27,32, and BROWN, *Birth*, 338,372 agree with Gunkel. Y. YADIN, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford 1962) 324-329 provides further examples from the 'Hymn of the Return'.

(23) For example, BENOIT, "L'enfance", 184-188; BROWN, *Birth*, 380-391.

(24) Compare for example Ps 17,3-5; 105,10 LXX.

(25) So C. WESTERMANN, *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* (Göttingen 1963) 61-67, 86, against GUNKEL's claim, "Die Lieder", 53, that it is an eschatological hymn. It should be noted that Westermann's conclusion (so too FARRIS, *Hymns*, 61-85) is not without difficulty. The presence of an allusion to a battle and its victory (vv. 71.74) is a problem (WESTERMANN, *Das Loben*, 62), as is the absence of the perspective Westermann identifies as "looking back to a particular time of need". God's action has more to do with his sovereign mercy (1,72.78), his remembering (1,72b), and his promises (1,70.72.73) than with a "particular time of need". For discussions of the breaking down of hymnic forms in early Judaism see G. MORAWE, "Vergleich des Aufbaus der Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder <1QH> von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spätjudentum", *RevQ* 4 (1963) 323-356; FARRIS, *Hymns*, 76-85; and JONES, "Background", esp. 44-47.

(26) Form-critically, a Declarative Psalm of Praise combines a direct statement of praise with a proclamation of the motivation for, and circumstances of, that praise. Thus praise and proclamation easily co-exist. The hymnic style of the Benedictus is not so pronounced as to exclude other functions. A number of the features that appear in other NT hymns — parallelism, participles, relative pronouns, antithesis, hapax legomena — are not evident in the Benedictus. See GLOER, "Homologies and Hymns".

of praise, he could have employed his favorite verb of praise *aineō*⁽²⁷⁾. Instead he uses two verbs of proclamation.

Eprophēteusen is an important choice. *Prophēteuō* is not used in any of its five other Lucan occurrences to designate hymnic or cultic activity directed towards God⁽²⁸⁾. Human audiences, rather than God, are the addressees of this verb. Luke's usage of the cognate noun⁽²⁹⁾ *prophētēs* confirms this observation; the address of a "prophet" is not directed to God or Christ but is directed to human beings. Further, the six Lucan occurrences of *prophēteuō* point to the speaking of special insight. In four of these instances (1,67; Acts 2,17.18; 19,6) the verb is specifically associated with the presence of the Holy Spirit as the source of this knowledge. In his discussion of the role of Christian prophets in Acts, E. E. Ellis⁽³⁰⁾ isolates a number of activities of those who prophesy — they exhort and strengthen⁽³¹⁾, interpret the scriptures⁽³²⁾, predict the future and guide the community⁽³³⁾. In such tasks the prophet is the Lord's instrument, "manifesting in the power of the Spirit the character of the Lord"⁽³⁴⁾.

The Benedictus exemplifies several of these functions. As with prophetic words, Zechariah's words strengthen the community by reminding them of God's saving will revealed in the decisive redemptive act (1,68b-69.71.78-79). His words interpret the scriptures (1,69b-70.73), whereby the visit is seen as the fulfillment of God's promises to Israel. He offers guidance on how the community should live (1,74-75). With the choice of the verb *prophēteuō* a human audience is clearly addressed. Zechariah is presented as a prophet, a preacher.

The other introductory verb in v. 67 reinforces this presentation. *Eplēsthē* is a distinctive Lucan verb (twenty-two of its twenty-four NT usages in Luke-Acts), and is not employed elsewhere by Luke to express praise and worship. Significantly, the verb appears predominantly in Luke in association with the Holy Spirit⁽³⁵⁾, which "conveys the power of preaching"⁽³⁶⁾. Two of Luke's leading preachers, Peter (Acts 4,8) and Paul (Acts 13,9), are

⁽²⁷⁾ *aineō* is used by Luke in six of its eight NT appearances (Luke 2,13.20; 19,37; Acts 2,47; 3,8.9).

⁽²⁸⁾ Luke 22,64; Acts 2,17.18; 19,6; 21,9. Note also its absence from the expressions of praise in Luke 1,46; 2,13.28.

⁽²⁹⁾ G. FRIEDRICH, "Prophētēs", *TDNT* 6 (1968) 781-861. Luke uses the word 59 times.

⁽³⁰⁾ E. E. ELLIS, "The Role of the Christian Prophets in Acts", *Apostolic History and the Gospels* (ed. W. W. GASQUE - R. P. MARTIN) (Grand Rapids 1970) 55-67.

⁽³¹⁾ ELLIS, "Role", 56-57. Compare Acts 15,32 — Judas and Silas are prophets; Acts 14,27 — Paul and Barnabas.

⁽³²⁾ ELLIS, "Role", 58-62. Compare Acts 13,16-41 and 15,16-18 where teaching and prophesying are linked.

⁽³³⁾ ELLIS, "Role", 62. Acts 13,1; 15,27.

⁽³⁴⁾ ELLIS, "Role", 67. FRIEDRICH, "Prophētēs", 835, reaches a similar conclusion. In prophesying, the insight into God's saving will, given by the Spirit, is proclaimed to God's people.

⁽³⁵⁾ Luke 1,15.41.67; Acts 2,4; 4,8.31; 9,17; 13,9.

⁽³⁶⁾ G. DELLING, "Pimplēmi", *TDNT* 6 (1968) 130.

notable examples. Since *eplēsthē* occurs in 1,68 in relation to the Spirit, it belongs to this primary grouping. It is a verb which Luke uses to denote proclamation, and to style Zechariah as a preacher.

In addition to noting these verbs of proclamation, it is worth repeating the fact that the vocabulary of Zechariah's proclamation has much in common with vocabulary in the Acts speeches⁽³⁷⁾. Gryglewicz's observation⁽³⁸⁾ of eighteen similarities between the Benedictus and the speech of Acts 3,12-26 can be developed further. Half of these words recur numerous times in other Acts speeches⁽³⁹⁾, while some appear in Acts only in speeches⁽⁴⁰⁾. A further eleven words in the Benedictus, not in Acts 3, also appear in Acts speeches⁽⁴¹⁾. Zechariah's proclamation thus employs a significant amount of language in common with Luke's other preachers — Peter, Stephen and Paul.

⁽³⁷⁾ For example, BENOIT, "L'enfance", 189, noted similarities between the vocabulary of the John the Baptist material (vv. 76-77) and several Acts speeches.

⁽³⁸⁾ F. GRYGLEWICZ, "Die Herkunft der Hymnen des Kindheitsevangeliiums des Lucas", *NTS* 21 (1974-75) 265-273.

⁽³⁹⁾ In addition to *theos* ("God"), *kyrios* ("Lord") and *pas* ("all"), there are the following: *Abraam* 7,2.16.17.32; 13,26; also 3,13.25; *didōmi* with the sense of God giving salvation or an equivalent divine gift — 4,12; 7,8.10.38; 10,40; 11,17.18; 13,34; 15,8; 17,25; also 3,16; *egeirō* as God's act of raising Jesus — 4,10; 5,30; 10,40; 13,30.37; also 3,15; *laleō* for God speaking — 2,31; 7,6; 26,22; also 3,21.24; *laos* as God's people — 4,10; 7,17.34; 10,42; 13,17; 15,14; 26,23; *patēr* as forefathers — 5,30; 7,2.32; 13,17; 22,14; 26,6; plus 3,13.25; *prophētēs* as OT prophets — 2,16; 10,43; 13,27; 15,15; 24,14; 26,22; also 3,18.21.24. On Luke's use of Abraham, see N. A. DAHL, "The Story of Abraham in Luke-Acts", *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 139-158.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ *aiōn* ("of old") 3,21; 15,18; *diathēkē* ("covenant") 3,25; 7,8; *horkos* ("oath") 2,30; *pais* ("servant" — David) 4,25; *poieō* (for God's saving action) 2,36; 4,28; 10,39.

⁽⁴¹⁾ *gnōsis* ("knowledge") 2,36; 4,10; 13,38; *aphesis hamartiōn* 5,32; 13,38; *sōtēria* 4,12; 5,31; 13,23; *epeskepsato* (vv. 68.78) with the sense of the expression of the divine will for good or evil — 6,3; 7,23; 15,14; *echthros* ("enemy" — v. 71) — 2,35; *mimnēskomai* (v. 72 — God remembering) 10,31; *latreuein* (v. 74) — 7,7; 24,14; 26,7; 27,23. There is one more Acts reference, also in a speech (7,42), but this expresses service of false gods. *dikaïosynē* (v. 75) — 10,35; 17,31; *hypsistos* (vv. 76.78) — 7,48; *hodos* (vv. 76.79 — the new divinely appointed way) — 2,28; 22,14; *eirēnē* (v. 79, "peace") — 7,26; 10,36; see n. 43. This similarity of vocabulary (and content) cannot be interpreted to indicate the Benedictus is a total Lucan creation. There is a cluster of Lucanisms in vv. 76-77 (*hypsistos* ["Most High"] — 9 of 13 NT usages; *enōpion* — 35 of 93 [34 in Rev]; *aphesis* — 10 of 17; *aphesis hamartiōn* — 8 of 11) suggesting vv. 76-77 are a Lucan addition (see BENOIT, "L'enfance", esp. 184-191; and BROWN, *Birth*, 371, 381). Further, we should note that several important words in the Benedictus do not occur in the Acts speeches (*keras* ["horn"], *eleos* ["mercy"], *splagchna* [lit. "bowels" — tender mercy], *anatolē* [lit. "rising"]), and some key terms in the speeches are not present here. These include *metanoia* ("repentance") 5,31; 13,24; 20,21; 26,20; *martureō* ("bear witness") 6,3; 10,43; 13,22; 15,8; 22,5; 26,5; *stauroō* ("crucify") 2,36; 4,10; the name *Iēsous* 2,36; 3,20; 4,10; 10,36.38; 11,17; 13,23.33. In addition, the theme of the inclusion of the Gentiles, explicitly proclaimed in the speeches — 10,34; 11,11-17; 13,46; 15,14 — is not openly stated in the Benedictus.

Having noted Zechariah's proclamatory role, the content of his proclamation requires clarification. The unit's link with the question concerning John in v. 66a offers an important clue. V. 66b provides a partial answer by stressing God's presence with John, and vv. 76-77 describe John's role as the preparer for God's redemptive act. But what is striking is the degree of the subservience of the John material in the Benedictus (four lines in a unit of twenty)⁽⁴²⁾. Zechariah's proclamation is not about John and his future role. Rather, the focus falls on God and God's accomplished act. God has been faithful to his promises to David (vv. 69-70) and to Abraham (vv. 72-73); God has saved his people (vv. 68.69.71.74); his light and peace are now experienced (vv. 78-79)⁽⁴³⁾.

In proclaiming God's action, Luke sets forth the goal of that act. The redemption of his people (1,71.74a) is more than a past event; it is determinative for the present, the new age. Thus Luke expresses the goal of God's saving act at the climax of the first sentence, in vv. 74b-75:

*latreuein autō en hosiotēti kai dikaioσynē
enōpion autou pasais tais hēmerais hēmōn.*

Latreuein⁽⁴⁴⁾ ("to serve, to worship") is a key verb, embracing a twofold meaning — a specific act of worship and obedient living⁽⁴⁵⁾. This service to God may be expressed specifically in worship and prayer (Luke 2,37), or, more generally and frequently, in the whole of life which manifests one's loyalty and commitment of heart. Such commitment was exhibited by Jesus (Luke 4,8) and by Paul (Acts 24,14); this way of living is God's will for his people (Acts 7,7). In this verb Zechariah sets forth as the goal of God's redemptive act a life of service and worship.

The two datives *en hosiotēti kai dikaioσynē* ("in holiness and righteousness") emphasize the point⁽⁴⁶⁾. In its few Septuagintal usages, *hosiotē-*

⁽⁴²⁾ FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 376, clearly overstates the case when he says that the Benedictus "acts as an answer to the question posed" about John in v. 66. Zechariah's words do more than this.

⁽⁴³⁾ See J. COMBLIN, "La Paix dans la Théologie de Saint Luc", *ETL* 32 (1956) 439-460.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ An infinitive of result — BROWN, *Birth*, 371-372. FARRIS, *Hymns*, 138, comments "the ultimate goal and result of God's saving action is finally reached... The purpose of God's saving action is that the people should serve him aright".

⁽⁴⁵⁾ H. STRATHMANN, "*Latreuō*", *TDNT* 4 (1967) 60. In the Septuagint, it is not used of human relationships but signifies "to serve or worship cultically, especially by sacrifice", recognizing who is God and Lord. But this specific act is not isolated from the rest of human conduct. It occurs in the larger context of wholehearted commitment and obedient living (Deut 10,12). In the NT this emphasis continues. Eight of the twenty-one references are in Heb and Rev; one (Luke 2,37) refers to Anna's fervent hope in God; two are to worship of other gods (Acts 7,42; Rom 1,25) in contrast to serving the true God; while ten (Matt 4,10; Luke 1,74; 4,8; Acts 7,7; 24,14; 26,7; 27,23; Rom 1,9; Phil 3,3; 2 Tim 1,3) highlight service to God embracing all of one's life. See STRATHMANN, "*Latreuō*", 62-65.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ The two datives occur together in Wis 9,3 where Solomon recognizes these qualities as being God's expectation of human life, and so asks for Wisdom

ti⁽⁴⁷⁾ denotes personal piety and righteous obedience. Its two New Testament usages express a quality that is not merely a virtue but is "a consequence of the new birth"⁽⁴⁸⁾ manifested in righteous living. Likewise, *dikaiosynē enōpion autou* is not "isolated rectitude" but designates "the fulfillment of God's will in an action which is pleasing to Him"⁽⁴⁹⁾. The Psalmic phrase *pasais tais hēmerais hēmōn* ("all our days"⁽⁵⁰⁾), indicates the time span throughout which such service is to be rendered.

In proclaiming God's saving act, Zechariah amplifies greatly the significance of the events beyond the immediate context. He transcends the narrative constraints⁽⁵¹⁾ to reveal the divine power at work⁽⁵²⁾, and the fulfillment of God's promises and Israel's expectations. And in doing so he asserts the goal of God's action, a people who are committed *latreuein autō* (v. 74b) in the totality of a way of life. Thus, as the Benedictus expresses praise, so it also proclaims and exhorts⁽⁵³⁾.

3. Why does Zechariah speak these words?

We can now draw together the threads of our discussion and propose an answer to our initial question. In section I we noted that two qualities mark

to be sent to enable such living. Significantly Wisdom is linked in Wis 9 with the Holy Spirit. At 9,4 Solomon prays for *sophia* ("wisdom"); at 9,17 the giving of *sophia* and the sending of *to hagian sou pneuma* ("your holy Spirit") are linked. Luke's community is one that is filled with the Spirit (Acts 2) so such a quality ought to be manifested.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ F. HAUCK, "*Hosios*", *TDNT* 5 (1967) 493. In the LXX it occurs in Deut 9,5 (as a synonym of *dikaiosynē*), Prov 14,32 (a characteristic of a *dikaios* person) and 1 Kgs 9,4 (of Solomon, requiring him to be obedient). In this last reference it is paired with *euthytēti* which appears with *dikaiosynē* in Josh 24,14 LXX expressing Joshua's command to the people to live in the land serving God (*latreusate autō*) "in holiness and righteousness".

⁽⁴⁸⁾ HAUCK, "*Hosios*", 493; cf. Eph 4,24.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ G. SCHRENK, "*Dikaiosynē*", *TDNT* 2 (1964) 199.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ A durative or temporal dative — C. F. D. MOULE, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek* (London 1960) 43; F. BLASS-A. DEBRUNNER, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (tr. and ed. R. W. FUNK) (Chicago 1961) sect. 201, p. 108.

⁽⁵¹⁾ It is interesting to compare this function of Zechariah's proclamation with M. Dibelius' comments about the historiographical tradition to which the Acts speeches belong. DIBELIUS, "The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography", *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles* (ed. H. GREEVEN) (London 1956) 138-185, notes that Luke follows this tradition in that his speeches have significance beyond their literary context (176) meaning more to the readers than those in the narrative context (172). Dibelius does not draw a link with the Benedictus.

⁽⁵²⁾ DIBELIUS, "The Speeches in Acts", 164-165, comments that the Acts speeches "give heightened meaning... to reveal the powers which are active behind the events".

⁽⁵³⁾ DIBELIUS, "The Speeches in Acts", 180, comments that in the historiographical tradition, the content of the speeches is not merely information "to be conveyed to the reader as part of the story, but (is) a proclamation and an exhortation".

Luke's presentation of Zechariah — he is *dikaïos* and a worshipper. In section II we observed that the Benedictus expresses Zechariah's worship and proclaims God's saving act in fulfillment of the divine promises and the hopes of Israel. Particularly, we emphasized the goal of this saving act, stated in the clause introduced by the infinitive *latreuein* (vv. 74b-75) — a people whose whole "way of life is really a cultic service"⁽⁵⁴⁾ of God. We can now observe that the goal of God's saving act embraces the same two qualities that are evident in Luke's portrait of Zechariah — righteous living and worship⁽⁵⁵⁾.

Zechariah is therefore a good choice to recite the Benedictus. Presented by Luke as a worshipper and as a *dikaïos* one, he thus models in his own living the goal of God's saving act — a life of service to God marked by righteousness. Zechariah can make this proclamation and expression of praise with integrity. He is a good example⁽⁵⁶⁾. He practices what he preaches⁽⁵⁷⁾.

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⁽⁵⁴⁾ FITZMYER, *Gospel*, 385.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ I cannot agree with FRIEDRICH, "*Prophetēs*", 835-836 who discusses Zechariah (along with Elizabeth and Simeon) under the heading "Pre-Christian Prophets". That might be true of the confines of the narrative fiction of chap. 1, but it is not true of Luke's broader design. I have demonstrated above that Zechariah, his words, and his role as a model transcend the confines of the fiction.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Note that a hypocrite is a contrast to a *dikaïos* person. See Luke 6,42; 12,56-57; 13,15.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ My appreciation to Dr. Paul Meyer for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Palaeographical Dating of P⁴⁶ to the Later First Century*

During the last two years I have attempted to marshal new palaeographical evidence for evaluating P. Beatty II + P. Mich. 222 (P⁴⁶). I was encouraged to do this, above all, by the publication of two papyri, P. Oxy. XLI 2987 (AD 78/9) and P. Mich. Inv. 6789⁽¹⁾. As is well known, the first editor of P⁴⁶ F. G. Kenyon abandoned his former dating perhaps owing to statements by U. Wilcken⁽²⁾ and then assigned the papyrus to a date not later than the first half of the third century⁽³⁾. This dating⁽⁴⁾ has since been

(*) I should like to express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Revel Coles in Papyrology Rooms of Ashmolean Museum. I have followed his comments (30 Aug. 1986) at important points in this paper. Thanks are also greatly due to Prof. Peter Parsons at Oxford whose criticism (4 Sept. 1986) considerably improved my paper. I should also like to thank Prof. DDr. h.c. Martin Hengel and Rev. Prof. C. F. D. Moule for encouraging me, and Prof. J. K. Elliott, who kindly informed me of the address of Mr. T. C. Skeat, who, however, was at present not able to comment on the study (Letter of 12 Sept. 1986). My thanks to Will Deming and Dr. F. Stanley Jones for help with my English. I should like here again to express my gratitude to the editors of this journal for their considerable suggestions.

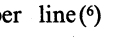
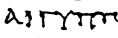

(¹) See T. RENNER, "Four Michigan Papyri of Classical Greek Authors", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* [ZPE] 29 (1978) 16-21.

(²) The dating of U. Wilcken was assigned on the basis of one leaf (fol 86^r) as follows: "Ja, die Unzialschrift könnte ich mir schon in II. Jahrh. vorstellen, doch weist die kursive Zeile mit der Stichenzählung vielleicht doch schon auf das III. Jahrh. hin, aber mit einem Ansatz 'um 200' wäre wohl auch diese vereinbar. Jedenfalls macht mir Taf. II einen älteren Eindruck als Taf. I" (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 11 [1935] 113). It is thus apparent that he also thought that the stichometrical notes are more or less contemporary with the main hand. Cf. K. OHLY, *Stichometrische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1928) 86ff.; T. C. SKEAT, "The Length of the Standard Papyrus Roll and the Cost-advantage of the Codex", *ZPE* 45 (1982) 173.

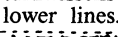

(³) Cf. F. G. KENYON, "A Third Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of St. Paul, edited by Henry A. Sanders. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXVIII Ann Arbor, 1935", *American Journal of Philology* 57 (1936) 93; IDEM, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Fasc. III Suppl. Pauline Epistles* (London 1936) Text xv and Plates preface.

(⁴) The newer criterion for estimating age was, according to F. G. Kenyon, that calligraphically the finest is also the earliest. Though the letters of P⁴⁶ are rather early in style, he said its type had lost a little of the simplicity of the best hands of the Roman period. Consequently, the terminus ad quem of P⁴⁶ was confirmed, as usual, by the cursive stichometric subscriptions. Cf. *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Fasc. I, General Introduction* (London 1933) 13-14; Fasc. III, *Pauline Epistles and Revelation* (London 1934) ix; "A Third Century Papyrus Codex", 93.

accepted without reference to dated parallel papyri from the third or second centuries. After carefully examining the plates of P⁴⁶, I have been able to isolate the decisive criteria for establishing the date of the papyrus.

Firstly I examined the ligature forms of P⁴⁶, which until now have not received due notice⁽⁵⁾. This sort of calligraphic hand with its striking effort to keep to the upper line⁽⁶⁾ (fol 8^r 9,  and fol 24^v 9, ) is unknown to me after the first century at least in a consistent usage and is found mostly in the later⁽⁷⁾ Ptolemaic period. Another calligraphic feature, which belongs to an added hand, seems to determine the papyrus's terminus ad quem. This style (fol 28^v 11, ) appears from the second century BC to the early second century AD⁽⁸⁾; within the first century

⁽⁵⁾ H. A. Sanders, who first saw the 30 most important leaves, claimed very mistakenly that there are no ligatures and made no palaeographical mention of the added hands. F. G. Kenyon indicated only that the corrections in a second hand are occasional and too small to assist the dating. G. Zuntz carefully distinguished the different hands and noticed that the same hand added the page numbers and wrote the number of stichoi under most of the epistles. Recently, J. R. Royse has again classified the corrections in P⁴⁶. Cf. H. A. SANDERS, *A Third-Century Papyrus Codex of the Epistles of Paul* (Ann Arbor 1935) 12-13; F. G. KENYON, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*: Fasc. III Suppl. Pauline Epistles (London 1936) xv; G. ZUNTZ, *The Text of the Epistles* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1946; London 1953) 252-254; J. R. ROYSE, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Diss., Graduate Theological Union 1981) 627-640.

⁽⁶⁾ Cf. P. Ryl. III 531. This convention to keep to the upper line may be of ancient age like dots dividing into words (from Ugaritic scripts until the paleo-Hebrew of Qumran) or the colophon-form containing the stichometric note in ancient literary texts, e.g., J. A. BLACK, "Babylonian Ballads: A New Genre", *Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. M. SASSON) (New Haven 1984) Figure 1 Reverse, BM 47507; cf. also V. GARDTHAUSEN, "Die alexandrinische Bibliothek, ihr Vorbild, Katalog und Betrieb", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schrifttum* 4-6 (1922) 85. In any event, Ptolemaic writing is clearly distinguished in the three following ways from Roman writing: (1) the effort to keep the line, (2) the informality of letters, (3) the directions of strokes. Especially in the Roman period there are a few ways of keeping the line, e.g., to keep only the upper line, to combine the horizontal strokes of ε, η, θ, σ, τ with wide spread in time, to keep the lower line (cf. P. Oxy. XLVII 3332, P. Tebt. Tait 46, W. SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie* [Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, I, iv/1; München 1925] Abb. 99), and to keep the upper and lower lines. The ligature ways of vertical calligraphy in P⁴⁶ () are a decidedly early type, as is also the main hand ().

⁽⁷⁾ This agrees with comments by Revel Coles to me, but the ligature ways would seem to have originated from the second century BC.

⁽⁸⁾ This form is found exceptionally in P. Amh. I 92 (AD 162-3), 11, 14, 22, but the vertical stroke of the *kappa* indicates clearly its own time. Conversely, a great chronological difference is visible in two added hands (fol 37^v and fol 56^v). Such a chronological difference is not a rare phenomenon, for a later Ptolemaic papyrus (P. Oxy. XIX 2214), to which additions were made by a hand of the later second century AD, was long treasured, probably together with P. Oxy. XIX 2212, 2213 (cf. E. G. TURNER, "Roman Oxyrhynchus", *JEA* 38 [1952] 93). In the case of P⁴⁶, hands of the correction do not all belong only to the later centuries. Of course, the stichometric notes and pagination are no doubt additions

a similar form of writing is found in P. Med. I 7 (AD 13/4); P. Oxy. II 326 (AD 45); P. Lond. III 1166 (AD 42); P. Ups. Frid 1 (AD 48); BGU I 350 (AD 98-117) etc. Secondly, all literary papyri similar to P⁴⁶ in its exact style (Fig. 1)⁽⁹⁾ have been assigned to an early date, e.g.:

P. Oxy. XV 1790 – the middle or rather latter half of the first century BC
(B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt), the reign of Augustus (W. Schubart)⁽¹⁰⁾
P. Mil. Vogl. Inv. 1181 int. – I AD (Cl. Gallazzi)⁽¹¹⁾

from a so-called “Bibl. Majuscule hand” (for this terminology I am indebted to the editors of the journal *Biblica*, cf. E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* [Princeton 1971] introduction 25; concerning its early type, cf. P. Hercul. 1457 – D. BASSI, *Papiri Ercolanesi* Tomo 1 [Milano 1914] 7 plates) in G. Cavallo’s system of classification (see Fig. 2). But the hand prefixed TA to l. 7 of fol 54^r appears in the archiv of Tryphon, e.g. P. Oxy. II 320 (AD 59) and also in the archiv of the Iulii Theones (AD 156-161). The type of hand that added MH to l. 13 of fol 54^r appears from SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 26 l. 10 through P. Oxy. III 473 probably up to the early third century AD, e.g. P. Oxy. XLII 3075 (AD 225), but the slight looping, sloped toward the left, makes an earlier impression. The hands added MEN on l. 16 of fol 53^v and ΓΕΝΗ on l. 13 of fol 55^v should not be dated late in the third century, as C. H. Roberts thought (ZUNTZ, *The Text of the Epistles*, 254), but should be long-dated e.g. from SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 31 (AD 83) to P. Amh. I 72 (AD 246). Particularly the hand of fol 53^v may be assigned to somewhat earlier date by virtue of the flatly elongated movements.

(⁹) Generally speaking, most letters (Ϝ Δ Ε Η Θ Κ Λ Ν Π Υ Ψ ω) are made of three separate strokes. The *upsilon* has two forms, as also in P. Heid. 2 (130 BC, cf. R. SEIDER, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*, I, Abb. 15) and PSI IV 320 (AD 18, cf. R. PINTAUDI, “Papiri greci e latini a Firenze, Secoli III a.C. – VIII d.C.”, *Papyrologica Florentina* XII [Firenze 1983] tav. XI); its decoration is formed by the hyphenated foot or, more often, by the final stretched out toward the left like the vertical stroke of other letters. The oblique strokes of Ϝ Δ λ λ ω have small heads rounded toward the left. ϣ and often ϥ are angle-formed, as one sees sometimes, though rarely, in early inscriptions and papyri, e.g., Herculaneum papyri, P. Oxy. XXI 2295; XXX 2528 etc. The *beta* and the *epsilon* are early forms. For the *beta*, cf. P. Merton 59 (154 or 143 BC); P. Lond. II 354 (7/4 BC); PSI IV 320 (AD 18); P. Teb. 568^r; the second hand (AD 20/1); P. Oxy. II 282 (AD 30-35); P. Oxy. II 246 (AD 66) etc. For the *epsilon*, cf. P. Ryl. II 131 (AD 31); P. Lond. 177 (AD 40/1); P. Oxy. XXIV 2387; P. Lond. 136 verso; P. Ryl. III 486 etc. It may be suggested that the tendency to be down-curved in the third stroke of the *epsilon* is, alongside of beginning with a space slightly left blank, a notable mark of early Roman hands (cf. P. Berol. 16895 + 21284; PSI X 1176; P. Lond. Lit. 6 + P. Ryl. III 540 + P. Libr. Congr. 4082 B; P. Ryl. III 486; P. Oxy. II 225; P. Oxy. II 216; P. Oxy. XXI 2299; P. IFAO Inv. 23, the second hand; P. Fayum 6; P. Oxy. XII 2225; P. Oxy. II 282; P. Amst. I, 1 etc.). For the general stroke of most of the letters P⁴⁶ is apparently well comparable to two literary-type hands: P. Fayūm 6; P. Oxy. II 246 the first hand (AD 66).

(¹⁰) SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, 116. But in this dating there is some room for doubt, for the coronis form comes near to the form of the second century (see Fig. 3).

(¹¹) CL. GALLAZZI, “Glossario a Homerus, Odyssea I 46-53”, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 41. This school hand may be compared barely only with P. Oxy. XXXI 2555 among the examples of Cl. Gallazzi, or rather with PSI IV 320 and P. Oxy. XXXIX 2879. These corrections were owing entirely to the careful observations of the editors.

- P. Oxy. XXII 2337 – terminus post AD 65
 P. Mich. Inv. 6789 – the latter part of the first century or the second century AD (T. Renner)
 P. Alex. Inv. 443 – the second half of the first century (G. Cavallo and T. Luzzatto)⁽¹²⁾
 P. Med. Inv. 70.01 verso – AD 55 (O. Montevecchi)⁽¹³⁾
 P. Oxy. LIII 3695⁽¹⁴⁾ – the first century (E. Lobel), the later first century (M. W. Haslam)
 P. Ryl. III 550 – early in the second century (C. H. Roberts).
 Moreover, P⁴⁶ may be compared with other similar literary hands, which further disclose the particular style of P⁴⁶:
 P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216 – the second half of the first century BC (G. Cavallo, C. H. Roberts, E. G. Turner, P. Fabrini and F. Maltomini)
 P. Berol. 6926 + P. Gen. Inv. 100 – terminus ad AD 100/1, before the middle of the first century, or probably the last Ptolemaic period (U. Wilcken)⁽¹⁵⁾, the reign of Augustus (W. Schubart)⁽¹⁶⁾, the second half of the first century (C. H. Roberts)
 P. Gr. Berol. 19c – the last decade of the first century (W. Schubart)⁽¹⁷⁾
 P. Oxy. I 8 – AD 50-150 (B. P. Grenfell)⁽¹⁸⁾
 P. Gr. Berol. 29b – the first half of the second century (W. Schubart)⁽¹⁹⁾, AD 50-150 (B. P. Grenfell)
 P. Hamb. III 193 – I AD (B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn)⁽²⁰⁾

⁽¹²⁾ About the papyri (P. Alex. Inv. 443 and P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216), see A. CARLINI, *Papiri Letterari Greci* (Bibliotheca degli Studi Classici e Orientali 13; Pisa 1978) 113-118, 237-266, reprinted in the *Papyri der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Stuttgart 1986) II, 40-59.

⁽¹³⁾ O. MONTEVECCHI, "Nerone a sua polis e ai 6475", *Aegyptus* 50 (1970), 5-33; IDEM, *La Papirologia* (Torino 1973) tav. 42; O. MONTEVECCHI and G. GERACI, "Documenta papyracea inedita ad Neronis atque Othonis principatus pertinentia in Papyris Mediolanensibus reperta", *Akten des XIII int. Papyrologenkongresses* (Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung 66; München 1974) 293-307. This is a rare example in which the archaic form \mathfrak{M} is grouped with the young form λ (a new development in the Ptolemaic form, e.g., P. Petrie I, 19, 225 BC). The scribe may be someone like an elder. Though notarial in style, the hands of P. Oxy. II 318 and 320, both of which belong to the latest material within the archive of Tryphon (AD 11-61), may represent an already prevalent style, together with P. Heid. Inv. G. 1207 (AD 61/2) etc. P. Fayum 110, whose sender (Gemellis) was sixty-one years old at the time, represents the hand of the later first century (the first hand stands in close proximity to the second hand).

⁽¹⁴⁾ The coronis form (see Fig. 3), asteriscus form (especially fig. 21), and corrected hand belong, compatible with the textual hand, to a early date.

⁽¹⁵⁾ U. WILCKEN, "Ein Neuer Griechischer Roman", *Hermes* 28 (1893) 161-193. Of greater interest are \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{Q} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{W} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{Z} . Two features, the fluent movements of every vertical stroke and the succeeding horizontal line of \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{E} \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{G} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{L} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{O} \mathfrak{P} \mathfrak{Q} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{T} \mathfrak{U} \mathfrak{V} \mathfrak{W} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{Z} present an independent style.

⁽¹⁶⁾ SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, 112.

⁽¹⁷⁾ SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, 118.

⁽¹⁸⁾ About the dating of P. Oxy. I 8 and P. Gr. Berol. 29b, cf. B. P. GRENFELL, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XIII (London 1919) 180.

⁽¹⁹⁾ SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, 124.

⁽²⁰⁾ B. KRAMER and D. HAGEDORN, *Griechische Papyri der Staats-und Univer-*

P. Oxy. LIII 3721 – the second half of the second century (M. W. Haslam)⁽²¹⁾.

In these papyri we perceive a somewhat independent and widespread style in which the knobbed *alpha*, and sometimes the same movement of strokes as in P. Oxy. XV 1790, is consistently found. For an understanding of the style I may also suggest a comparison between BGU I 37 (AD 50) and P. Giss. I 69 (AD 118/9), for P⁴⁶ makes it clear that a book hand is to a certain degree correlative with its running hand. But P⁴⁶ belongs to the earlier type of these styles⁽²²⁾. The following reasons support this judgement:

1) P⁴⁶ presents a distinctly early appearance in the form of finals at the feet of letters, which is represented by the examples dated from the last quarter of the third century BC to the third quarter of the first century AD; comparable are P. Cair. 65445, the later datable hand (?) and P. Med. Inv. 70.01 verso.

2) It exhibits the earlier forms in a few letters, especially the *beta* and the *upsilon*; comparable are P. Cair. 65445, the later datable hand (?) and P. Mon. Gr. Inv. 216.

3) It has not been influenced by the blob-ornamental style, which is found in e.g. P. Oxy. XLI 2987 (AD 78/9), or the decorated style finishing with an obliquely rake-formed serif⁽²³⁾. Among papyri of the same type as

sitätsbibliothek Hamburg (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 31; Bonn 1984) 12-14.

⁽²¹⁾ P. Parsons was kind enough to draw my attention to this papyrus. M. W. Haslam has compared it with P. Oxy. XLIV 3156 and P. Oxy. XXVI 2450. With the exception of the added hand, I would not agree with Haslam's dating. I see an early feature in the *epsilon* (cf. PSI XI 1214; P. Oxy. LIII 3685) and the *xi* (cf. P. Oxy. XXXVII 2632; P. Oxy. II 282, in comparison with the elegant form Ξ). More notice should be taken of the *upsilon*, which is formed with a deep bow on the top of an upright stroke (cf. P. Oxy. XXI 2295; P. Oxy. XIX 2223, 2226; P. Gr. Vindob. 1999B; P. Oxy. II 318, 320 (AD 59)). I am personally inclined to think a date up to the reign of emperor Trajan to be probable in the case of P. Oxy. XLIV 3156 (noticeable are the three movements of the *tau*, the second and third movements of the *mu*, which are deeply curved, an *omicron* that is a little too large, and the hyphenated decoration) and P. Oxy. XXX 2526. The contrast between wide and narrow letters does not prove much, for such a contrast can be seen as early as the fourth century BC, cf. P. Gr. Berol. 2; P. Ibscher (G. MANTEUFFEL, "Papyri e Collectione Varsoviensi. 4. Legum Iudicialium Fragmentum", *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 2 [1948] 81-103, Tab. II); The Herculaneum Papyri (F. SBORDONE, *Ricerche sui Papyri Ercolanesi*, II [Napoli 1976] tavv.); H. J. M. MILNE, "A New Fragment of Theophrastus", *The Classical Review* 36 (1922) 66-67; C. H. ROBERTS, GLH 15b (AD 145-6); P. Hamb. III 198 (terminus ad AD 156).

⁽²²⁾ A later development of this type among biblical papyri is witnessed in, e.g., P. Köln IV 170 (P⁸⁷); probably P. Ryl. 457 (P⁵²; a fairly exceptional style, but not entirely only calligraphic); P. Ryl. I 5 (P³²); P. Oxy. IV 656 (Genesis); P. Oxy. L 3523 (P⁹⁰); P. Oxy. I, 2 (P¹).

⁽²³⁾ These finals appear frequently in the so-called Roman Uncial of G. Cavallo. On the Roman Uncial, see G. CAVALLO, "Osservazioni paleografiche sul canone e la cronologia della cosiddetta 'onciale romana'", *Annali della scuola*

P⁴⁶, P. Hamb. III 193 may be considered a good example of influence by this decorated style. The same applies to P. Gr. Berol. 19c, but P. Hamb. III 193 makes an earlier impression. We are virtually able to determine the precise period of this decorated style. In particular, P. Oxy. XLI 2987⁽²⁴⁾ is comparable with P. Oxy. XXVI 2450 and XXX 2526, which also may be readily compared with P. Herculanensis 994, 1676; P. Oxy. VIII 1083, XVII 2453; P. Oxy. Hel. 6. In this connection, P. Oxy. VIII 1082 agrees with P. Brem. 6 (in the early reign of Hadrian) in groups of narrow letters (ε, θ, ο, σ), in the first vertical movement of the *alpha* and the *delta*, and in the *upsilon*. The decorated style may, therefore, be assigned at least up to the Trajan-Hadrian period. This also seems to have been the view of A. S. Hunt⁽²⁵⁾. The decorative form, however, continues even afterwards to have influence on another style, e.g. P. Turner 1, P. Oxy. XLII 3010, XXXIV 2689, and the probably very late P. Oxy. XLII 3030. Here I may suggest that P. Ryl. III 550 belongs to the more or less earlier type than P. Oxy. XIII 1622 (*terminus ante* AD 148, probably Trajan-Hadrian period).

4) When P⁸⁷ is compared to the second hand of P. Oxy. V 841 (*terminus post* the reign of Titus; the first hand is not able to be assigned to a date after the earlier decades of the second century AD), one may say that P⁴⁶ gives a very early impression of style. Consequently, it may be said, if so useful, that P⁴⁶ is, in agreement with A. S. Hunt and probably E. G. Turner⁽²⁶⁾, an upright informal (?) uncial of an early type.

For an adequate palaeographical evaluation of P⁴⁶, I have given special consideration to papyri: P. Med. Inv. 73.06 (AD 2); P. Lond. 136 verso⁽²⁷⁾; P. Ryl. II 131 (AD 31); P. Lond. 177 (AD 40/1); P. Oxy. II 318 (AD 59); P. Oxy. II 320 (AD 59); P. Heid. Inv. G. 1207 (AD 61/2); P. Heid. Inv. G. 299 (AD 62); P. Heid. Inv. G. 1017 (the reign of Nero); PSI XIII 1319, the second hand (AD 76); P. Lond. 2078 (in the reign of the emperor Domitian, possibly AD 87)⁽²⁸⁾; PUG II 62 the second hand (AD 98). These I have compared to dated documents in literary-type hands: P. Princ. III 147 (AD 87/8); P. Lond. II 141 (AD 88); P. Oxy. XLII 3051 (AD 89); P. Ryl. II 107 (AD 90); P. Oxy. II 270 (AD 94); P. Fayum 110 (AD 94); P. Oxy. II 211 (from the reigns of Vespasian, Domitian and Trajan)⁽²⁹⁾. As a result, a

normale superiore di Pisa (Lettere, storia e filosofia), Ser. II, 36 (1967) 209-220 with 12 plates; P. J. PARSONS, "Cavallo, Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica", *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 375-380; TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*, 38.

⁽²⁴⁾ In connection with P⁴⁶, the two forms of the *upsilon*, *nu*, and *mu*, the vertical stroke of the *nu* and *iota*, and the *xi* are of considerable interest.

⁽²⁵⁾ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XV (London 1922) 191.

⁽²⁶⁾ *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XV, 114; TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*, introduction, 24.

⁽²⁷⁾ H. J. M. Milne assigned the document on the recto to the reign of emperor Augustus (*Catalogue of Literary Papyri in the British Museum* [London 1927] 21). Truly this Homer papyrus has to do with its own time only through the form $\pi\tau$. Without this form it must be ascribed to the third century AD as F. G. Kenyon did (*Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum* [London 1891] 94). For P⁴⁶ the oval *epsilon* is of greatest interest.

⁽²⁸⁾ Cf. *New Palaeographical Society*, Series II (1913-30) 98.

⁽²⁹⁾ In the original publication of this Menander papyrus, the editors demon-

group of forms (ϱ Ϸ ϵ ϰ ϱ ϱ ϱ ϱ) in P⁴⁶ is distinguished from the dominant group of forms (ϱ Ϸ ϵ ϰ ϱ ϱ ϱ ϱ)⁽³⁰⁾ since the reign of the emperor Domitian. This strongly suggests that P⁴⁶ was written some time before the reign of the emperor Domitian. Thirdly, P⁴⁶ preserves the εγ-form instead of the εκ-form before compounds with β, δ, and λ:

ἐγβασιν	Heb 13,7; 1 Cor 10,13	ἐγδικος	Rom 13,4
ἐγλεκτόν	Rom 16,13 (ἐκλεκτῶν, Rom 8,33)		
ἐγλύω	Heb 12,3,5	ἐγλελησθε	Heb 12,5
ἐγλογή	Rom 9,11; 11,5,7,26.		

At the end of the nineteenth century it was generally thought that the regular εγ-form before γ, β, δ, λ, μ, ν in Attic inscriptions was regularly changed since the first century BC into the εκ-form⁽³¹⁾. The research of W. Crönert, E. Mayser, and F. T. Gignac, however, has disclosed that their alternative or exceptional usage is found in papyri after the first century BC. This was ascertained through the following examples, which have exact parallels in P⁴⁶:

ἐγβασις	P. Fayum 91,11 (AD 99) ⁽³²⁾	/ἐκβασις	P. Ryl. II 122,5 (AD 127); 157,9,11 (AD 135)
ἐγδικος	P. Merton 104,11 (Ia AD) ⁽³³⁾	/ἐκδικος	P. Oxy. II 237, vii, 39 (AD 186); P. Strassb. 196,3 (II AD); PSI 1411, 19 (II AD)
P. Oxy. II 261, 14 (AD 55) ⁽³⁴⁾ ; XXXVI 2757, ii, 3 (AD 69/71); PSI 791,1 (VI AD)			
ἐγλανθάνω	P. Iatr. (?) once ⁽³⁵⁾	/ἐκλανθάνω	P. Lond. Lit. 6 + P. Ryl. II 540 + P. Libr. Congr. 408 B (ter- minus ad the reign of Domitian) once

strated that the papyrus was found together with a large number of documents dated to the reigns of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan, e.g., P. Oxy. I 45 (AD 95), 97 (AD 115-6), 174 (AD 88) and 373 (AD 79-80) (cf. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II [London 1899] 11). About the other contemporary examples, cf. S. DAVIS, "Ricerche di Papirologia Documentaria", *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 161, n. 115.

⁽³⁰⁾ For the exact understanding of the spread of these rather rounded forms in time, cf. P. Ryl. II 154 (AD 66); P. Fayum 110 (AD 94); P. Giss. Univ.-Bibl. Inv. 251 (AD 136); P. Wisconsin II 81 (AD 143); P. Oxy. III 473 (in the reign of the emperor Antoninus Pius); P. Merton 71 (AD 160-3); BGU V 1 (about AD 170); P. Mich. 532 (AD 181/2); P. Oxy. XLII 3076 (AD 225?); P. Oxy. XVII 2105 (AD 231-6); P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2854 (AD 248).

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. K. MEISTERHANS - E. SCHWYZER, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1900) 106-109; L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, I (Berlin - New York 1980).

⁽³²⁾ F. T. GIGNAC, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Period*, I (Milan 1976) 175.

⁽³³⁾ GIGNAC, *A Grammar*, 174.

⁽³⁴⁾ GIGNAC, *A Grammar*, 174.

⁽³⁵⁾ W. CRÖNERT, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis* (Lipsiae 1903) 53.

ἐγλεκτός P. Fayum 102,3 (AD 105 ?) ⁽³⁶⁾	/ἐκλεκτός P. Oxy. XXXI 2603,31 (IV AD)
ἐγλογή P. Teb. I, 5, 116 (118 BC) ⁽³⁷⁾ ; P. Oxy. XLI 1979, 13 (3 BC); P. Hercul. Philodemi περι ποιημάτων β (terminus ad AD 79) three times ⁽³⁸⁾ ; P. Oxy. Hels. 31,23 (AD 86); P. Soterichos 4,21,23 (AD 87); PSI 770,16 (AD 187)	/ἐκλογή P. Ryl. III 598, 5 (92/1 or 58 BC); P. Hercul. 1007 (terminus ad AD 79) ⁽³⁹⁾ ; P. Ryl. II 157,5 (AD 135)
ἐγλύειν P. Teb. III i, 798,7 (II BC) ⁽⁴⁰⁾ ; I 49,6 (113 BC) ⁽⁴¹⁾ ; I 54,16 (86 BC) ⁽⁴²⁾ ; P. Hercul. 182 (terminus ad AD 79) ⁽⁴³⁾ ; P. Oxy. Hels. 45,14 (I AD); P. Teb. III/1 798,7 (IIa AD); P. Amh. 80,9 (AD 232/3)	/ἐκλύειν P. Oxy. XXVII 2457,2 (I/IIa AD)

On the basis of these examples, we should regard the regular usage of the εγ-form as a clearly original feature of the Pauline epistles. It also seems most likely that the regular usage of the εγ-form gradually disappeared probably after the early second century AD. There is truly a good corrected example in P. Oxy. XLIV 3152, ii, 13; Fr. 4,8. It is because of this change, I think, that all biblical MSS (with exception of ἐγλύου in P¹³ and P⁴⁶, of course) show only the εκ-form at least in the Pauline epistles⁽⁴⁴⁾. Neverthe-

⁽³⁶⁾ GIGNAC, *A Grammar*, 175.

⁽³⁷⁾ E. MAYSER-H. SCHMOLL, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, I/1 (Berlin 1970) 202.

⁽³⁸⁾ CRÖNERT, *Memoria*, 53.

⁽³⁹⁾ CRÖNERT, *Memoria*, 53.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ MAYSER-SCHMOLL, *Grammatik*, 202.

⁽⁴¹⁾ MAYSER-SCHMOLL, *Grammatik*, 202.

⁽⁴²⁾ MAYSER-SCHMOLL, *Grammatik*, 202.

⁽⁴³⁾ CRÖNERT, *Memoria*, 53.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ At least within the Pauline epistles the εγ-form is not visible in any of the MSS, on which point F. G. Kenyon and A. Debrunner (F. BLASS-A. DEBRUNNER, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Teil II: Anhang [Göttingen 1943] 5) were mistaken. The word ἐγλύου is retained once in P¹³ by conservatism as it is in a few of the examples listed above. By the side of it, in P. Oxy. IV 656 (Genesis), which was unearthed together with P¹³ and P. Oxy. IV 654 (The Gospel according to Thomas) and one of the libelli (AD 250) from the mound with the shêkh's tomb belonged to the third century AD, with some specimens of the second and fourth centuries (B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT, "Graeco-Roman Branch", *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report 1902-03*, 6-8), appears the εκ-form (ἐκλύεις, Gen 27,40).

It is also noteworthy that βύβλος (Phil 4,3) is used in P⁴⁶ together with βιβλος (Gal 3,10, cf. βιβλίον Heb 9,19; 10,7, cf. MAYSER-SCHMOLL, *Grammatik*, 80; CRÖNERT, *Memoria*, 21-22; GIGNAC, *A Grammar*, 268). In orthography there is generally a strong preponderance of agreement with D* F G or B*. When P⁴⁶ disagrees with B*, B* agrees mainly with D^c E K L P or exceptionally with F G. There are yet a number of notable spellings peculiar to P⁴⁶, e.g., ἐφ' ἐλπίζει (1 Cor 9,10, cf. Rom 8,20, ἐφ' ἐλπίδι — for this spelling I am also indebted to the editors).

less, three early biblical texts (P. Fouad 266⁽⁴⁵⁾; the Minor Prophets of Wâdi Mûrabba'ât⁽⁴⁶⁾; 4Q LXX Lev⁽⁴⁷⁾) preserve the *εγ*-form. Finally, some previous palaeographers⁽⁴⁸⁾ may sometimes have been influenced in their dating

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Cf. F. DUNAND, *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques* (*Papyrus F. Inv. 266*) (Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire, XXVII; Le Caire 1966) 15. The suggested dating of this papyrus is very questionable. P. Fouad Inv. 266, which is comparable with Würzb. Sosylos-Papyrus (U. WILCKEN, "Ein Sosylos-Fragment in der Würzburger Papyrussammlung", *Hermes* 41 (1906) 104-105; for the Photographs, see SEIDER, *Paläographie*, II, Nr. 10 and ZPE 27 [1977] plate I), may be assigned from the later third century up to the middle of the second century BC, for the short horizontal strike on the top of the third vertical stroke in the *nu* does not stretch long and the upper stroke of the oblique *epsilon* is short and not rounded. The *eta*, *mu* and *pi* are also of interest. Moreover, a calligraphy (Fr. 6, cf. SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 7), probably P. Fouad Inv. 266 Addendum, and the tetragrammaton script, which is comparable with the Nash Papyrus (cf. S. A. COOK, "A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus", *Proceedings of Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 [1903] 57, plate I; W. F. ALBRIGHT, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeian Age: The Nash Papyrus", *JBL* 56 [1937] 146-172), support such a date. Now I do not think of a date later than P. Mich. 6982 (see ZPE 51 [1984] plate II), P. Sorbonne I, 5; P. Ryl. III 458; P. Teb. I 4 (= E. G. TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*, N. 13, terminus ad 140 BC). In any event, P. Fouad Inv. 266 should be assigned to an earlier date than P. Berol. 9767 (= P. Gr. Berol. 11a); P. Oxy. XXIV 2399; P. Ryl. IV 586 (99 BC). Compare the *epsilon* and the *xi*. On the other letters, cf., I Cret. III, iv 4 (246 BC). Of great interest is the text of P. Fouad Inv. 266 in Deut 32,43 which preserves in Christian MSS (cf. Heb 1,6) and stands against the MT (cf. Z. ALY, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 27; Bonn 1980) plate 47).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Cf. D. BARTHÉLEMY, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTS 10; Leiden 1963) 170-178; B. LIFSHITZ, "The Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror", *IEJ* 12 (1962) 201-207. The first publisher assigned the texts to the middle of the first century (D. BARTHÉLEMY, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante", *RB* 60 [1953] 19, n. 3; *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 168). C. H. Roberts, however, dated them more exactly between 50 BC and AD 50 in comparison with SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 72 and Abb. 76 (P. KAHLE, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften", *TLZ* 79 [1954] 81). In any event, the second writing (Zech 8,19 - 9,4) may be regarded as normal in the case of more or less early date. The hand may be so early as that of P. IFAO I 72 (23 BC) and is comparable to P. Herculan. 1425. Generally it makes an impression of strongly early first century AD on short leftward pointing serifs and the *mu*, but the strongly downward pointed horizontal stroke of the *tau* and the *xi* rejects it.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ P. W. SKEHAN, "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism", *Volume du Congrès* (VTS 4; Leiden 1957) 159, l. 19. That dating of the first century AD is entirely improper. This hand can be approximately assigned to the first century BC in comparison with TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*, 45 (c. 160 BC), P. Oxy. VI 866 and P. Oxy. XXXIII 2654 two hands, which cannot be apparently later than P. Oxy. II 356 (AD 27).

⁽⁴⁸⁾ On factors influencing the dating of early Christian papyri, see F. G. KENYON, *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1898) 93; B. P. GRENFELL and A. S. HUNT, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part II (London 1899) 2-3; H. I. BELL and T. C. SKEAT, *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and Other Early Christian Papyri* (London 1935) 2-3; F. G. KENYON, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Oxford 1951) 97; J. MALLON, "Quel est le plus ancien Exemple connu d'un Manuscrit Latin en forme de codex?", *Emerita* 17 (1949) 1-6; C. H. ROB-

Fig. 1

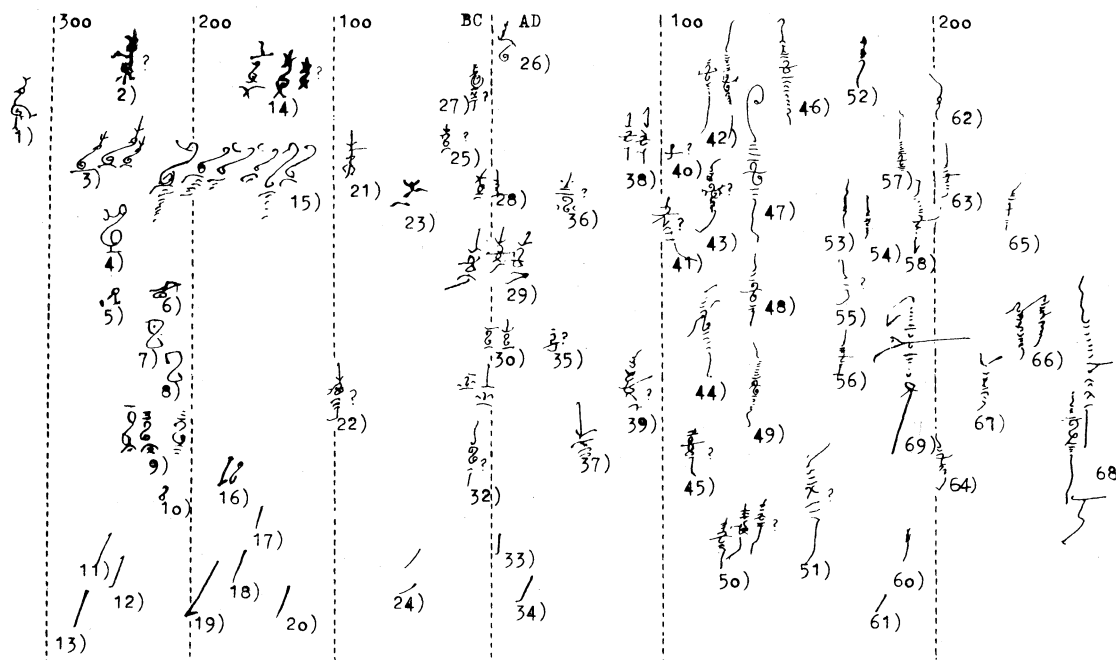
Alpha	$\alpha \alpha \alpha \lambda \alpha$
Beta	$\beta \beta \beta \beta \beta \beta \beta \beta$
Gamma	$\gamma \gamma$
Delta	$\Delta \Delta$
Epsilon	$\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon$
Zeta	ζ
Eta	$\eta \eta \eta \eta \eta$
Theta	$\theta \theta$
Iota	$\iota \iota \iota$
Kappa	$\kappa \kappa \kappa$
Lambda	$\lambda \lambda$
Mu	$\mu \mu$
Nu	$\nu \nu$
Xi	$\xi \xi$
Omikron	$\omicron \omicron$
Pi	$\pi \pi \pi$
Rho	$\rho \rho \rho \rho \rho$
Sigma	$\sigma \sigma$
Tau	$\tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau \tau$
Upsilon	$\Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon \Upsilon$
Phi	$\phi \phi \phi \phi$
Chi	$\chi \chi$
Psi	$\Psi \Psi \Psi$
Omega	$\omega \omega \omega$

Fig. 2. - Classification of Added Hands in P⁴⁶


p 46*	55 ^v 11	ἀλλοῦ	p 46(7)	
f. 12 ^r 23	58 ^r 1	ἐστὰς	f. 53 ^v 16	ἀλλελη
23 ^r 8	58 ^v 15	ἦτε	55 ^v 13	χοίφω
32 ^v 1	61 ^r 4	τοῦτοῦτο	p 46(8)	
33 ^r 4	61 ^v 12	ἡμῶν	f. 25 ^v 21	ἐπὶ τῷ
41 ^r 14	70 ^v 5	τοῦτο	29 ^r 14	ἐλς
45 ^r 12	75 ^v 18	ἡμῶν	p 46(9)	
63 ^v 6	τῆλει	p 46(1)	f. 29 ^r 10	τοῦτο
66 ^v 25	ρεῖρε	f. 28 ^v 11	14	ἐλς
70 ^v 14	ἡμῶν	p 46(2)	21	ἐλς
71 ^r 12	ἡμῶν	f. 16 ^v 3	p 46(10)	
78 ^v 1	ὅστις	p 46(3)	f. 31 ^r 5	ροσφορετοῦ
79 ^r 23	ἡμῶν	f. 54 ^r 7	32 ^v 7	ἡμῶν
82 ^r 11	ἐν	p 46(4)	10	ἡμῶν
84 ^r 17	πῶς	f. 44 ^r 4	34 ^r 19	ἡμῶν
84 ^v 6	ἡμῶν	47 ^r 5	56 ^v 15	ἡμῶν
87 ^r 14	ἡμῶν	50 ^r 3		
91 ^r 12	ἡμῶν	p 46(5)	16	ἡμῶν
p 46*(!?)	f. 36 ^r 23	ἐχόμε	p 46(10?)	
f. 12 ^r 16	42 ^r 11	ἡμῶν	f. 21 ^r 4	ἡμῶν
18 ^v 16	54 ^v 13	τοῦτο	25 ^r 5	ἡμῶν
30 ^r 22	ἡμῶν	p 46(6)	19	ἡμῶν
45 ^r 17	ἐπὶ τῷ	f. 19 ^r 9	28 ^r 17	ἡμῶν
55 ^r 3	ἡμῶν	19 ^r 20	19	ἡμῶν

29 ⁹ κατακα	f. 30 ¹⁵ το αἴμα	32 ¹ ἐπὶ
35 ³ ἀπολύειν	30 ¹² αὐτῶν	9 ἐπὶ
35 ⁹ οὐτοῦ	p 46(13)	32 ⁹ ἡμῶν
16 πατήρ	f. 34 ⁸ ἰωανν	33 ¹⁸ τοῦ
17 ὁ	p 46(14)	33 ¹⁵ πατρός
24 ἡμῶν	f. 33 ¹² ἰωανν	34 ⁹ τοῦ
p 46(11)	p 46(15)	34 ²⁵ ἐποιοῦ
f. 31 ¹¹ ἰσπρ	f. 26 ²³ αὐτῶν	36 ¹⁵ εἰ
32 ¹⁰ εἰς	f. 27 ⁴ αὐτῶν	37 ⁵ ἐπὶ
14 οὐκ	με	37 ²² ἀλλ
17 ἡμῶν	αὐτῶν	38 ⁸ ἀπὸ
19 καὶ	ρῦς	43 ²³ κρέβ
34 ¹⁰ ἡ οὐκ	p 46(16)	47 ¹ οὐκ
34 ¹⁴ τῶν	f. 13 ⁷ ἐλεγε	12 ὡς
36 ⁸ οὐδὲ	16 ⁹ νοῦ	50 ¹¹ ἐσθ
37 ⁹ ἀπὸ	37 ²² ἐν π	13 ἡμῶν
16 ἐσθ	38 ² γὰρ	51 ²⁰ τῶν
18 καὶ	49 ³ ὡς	56 ¹³ ταῖς
28 κατὰ	60 ¹² π	f. 57 ¹⁹ κατεχ
p 46(11?)	62 ¹⁰ οὐκ	58 ¹⁷ παρ
f. 36 ⁶ πάντων	p 46(?)	68 ⁶ παρ
12 καὶ	f. 17 ² οὐκ	80 ¹² προχ
13 οὐκ	20 ⁶ αὐτῶν	81 ⁶ ἡμῶν
38 ⁵ ἡμῶν	26 ⁴ αὐτῶν	85 ²⁵ ἡμῶν
12/3 καὶ	30 ¹⁷ ἡμῶν	86 ⁵ τοῦ
14 ἡμῶν	30 ⁹ οὐκ	89 ⁹ κοιν
44 ⁴ ἡμῶν	13 καὶ	19 ἐχ
p 46(12)	25 ἡμῶν	91 ⁴ τοῦ

Fig. 3. – Chronological examples of coronis form



(1) P. Berol. 9876 (2) P. Petr. II 49 (3) P. Strassb. Inv. 2342-4 (4) P. Teb. III 694 (5) P. Gr. Berol. 4b (6) P. Hal. I 1 (7) P. Lond. I 50 (8) P. Lond. I 15 (9) P. Sorb. Inv. 2272 (10) P. Heid. G. Inv. 28 (11) P. Heid. G. 1264 (12) PSI IV 429-250 BC (13) P. Petr. I 7 (14) P. Hamb. Inv. 605 (15) P. Cair. 65445 the another hand (16) P. Par. 2 (17) P. Teb. I 4 (18) P. Berol. 9770 (19) P. Fouad Inv. 266 (20) P. Sorb. Inv. 2254 (21) P. Köln Inv. 5604 (22) P. Lond. I 134 (23) P. Merton II 52 (24) P. Oxy. XXXVIII 2825 (25) P. Oxy. XLI 2944 (26) P. Herc. 994 (27) P. Herc. 1427 (28) P. Oxy. XXIV 2387 (29) P. Oxy. IV 659 (30) P. Oxy. XXI 2295 (31) P. Oxy. XLII 3000 (32) P. Oxy. L 3538 (33) P. Herc. 1050 (34) P. Lefort 3 (35) P. Oxy. XXXII 2618 (36) P. Oxy. LIII 3695 (37) P. Berol. 9908 (38) P. Lond. I 130 (39) P. Oxy. XV 1790 (40) P. Oxy. XXXII 2637 (41) P. Gr. Berol. 20 (42) P. Oxy. X 1231 (43) P. Oxy. V 841 (44) P. Oxy. XXI 2307 (45) P. Oxy. XXIV 2390 (46) P. Oxy. XVII 2076 (47) P. Lond. I 110 – AD 138 (48) P. Oxy. XXVII 2465 (49) P. Oxy. XVIII 2174 (50) P. Oxy. XXV 2450 (51) P. Lit. Lond. 132 (52) PSI II 123 (53) P. Oxy. XXI 2306 (54) P. Oxy. XXI 2293 (55) P. Oxy. X 1233 (56) P. Oxy. X 1234 (57) P. Oxy. V 843 (58) P. Oxy. XXVI 2449 (59) P. Oxy. XXXIX 2883 (60) P. Oxy. XXXV 2741 (61) P. Oxy. XXIV 2389 (62) P. Oxy. XXIII 2362 (63) P. Oxy. X 1234 (64) P. Oxy. XXVI 2451 (65) P. Oxy. X 1232 (66) P. Oxy. XXVI 2447 (67) P. Oxy. XXVI 2442 (68) Nag Hammadi codices.

P⁴⁶ by the omission of *iota adscriptum*, usage of nomina sacra, and perhaps the Greek transliteration of a Latin name Σιλβανός. Now, however, these features turn out to have no bearing on my giving an early date to P⁴⁶. Two biblical papyri (P. Oxy. L. 3522 and the Minor Prophets of Wādi Mûrabbā'āt) have provided biblical texts⁽⁴⁹⁾ of the first century AD omitting *iota adscript*. And the early usage of nomina sacra has been attested by a non-biblical papyrus fragment (PSI 1200 addendum⁽⁵⁰⁾), which was perhaps written about the same time as P⁴⁶. Finally, as early as 1892 Th. Eckinger cited examples of Σιλβανός four times in an inscription of ca. AD 4/5 (but Σιλουανός three times from the first century), and O. Cair. J. E. 38622 (I/II AD) illustrates the name Σιλβανός together with P. Oxy. II 335 (AD 85) and an exceptional calligraphical form of abbreviation (—  = — υμεν)⁽⁵¹⁾.

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ERTS, "Early Christianity in Egypt: Three Notes", *JEA* 40 (1954) 94; E. G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (London 1977) 2-4, 11; C. H. ROBERTS, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (Oxford 1979) 12, 26 ff.; ZUNTZ, *The Text of the Epistles*, 260.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Here I follow a comment by Revel Coles.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ A. CARLINI, "Amicus Plato...: A Proposito di PSI XI 1200, Gorg. 447B ss.", *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Papyrologica Florentina 7; Firenze 1980) 41-45. PSI XI 1200 is written by the less common hand in Egypt. As in the cases of P. Oxy. III 405 (Irenaeus, *contra Haereses* iii 9); P. Herc. 1676; P. Herc. 1457 it may not be a so-called 'Nationaltype' (cf. SCHUBART, *Griechische Paläographie*, 112; E. G. TURNER, "Scribes and Scholars of Oxyrynchus", *Akten des VIII internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie Wien 1955* [Wien 1956] 144). This type was also well witnessed in Egypt, for many useful books borrowed from Athens were copied in the period of Ptolemaios Euergetes, and the emperor Domitian had sent book-copyists to Alexander in order to make copies of the classical texts for a burned-out library in Rome (T. KLEBERG, *Buchhandel und Verlagswesen in der Antike* [Darmstadt 1967] 17-18, also cf. C. WENDEL, *Die Griechisch-Römische Buchbeschreibung verglichen mit der des vorderen Orients* [Halle 1949] 59-69). But PSI XI 1200 addendum seem to be a less unusual hand, which may be compared with the hands of P. Fayūm 6; P. Oxy. XXVIII 2502; PSI XI 1212; PSI IX 1091; P. Hal. 4; possibly P. Lit. Lond. 27 (rightly see W. LAMEERE, *Aperçus de Paléographie Homérique* [Paris-Bruxelles 1960] plates 3, 6); P. Oxy. XXVIII 2495. It is also a very similar hand of P⁴⁶, though the latter may be slightly earlier than the former with the well rounded *epsilon* and duplicate types of the *upsilon*. Palaeographically it would be possible that PSI XI 1200 addendum is assigned more to the early second century AD, but might be as old as the last decade of the first century AD. For it, compare P. Oxy. II 211; SEIDER, *Paläographie*, II, Nr. 29, 32; P. Köln Inv. 7511 (ZPE 14, 1974, plate V); PSI XIII 1305; P. Giss. I, 19; P. Giss. I, 3; P. Oxy. XV 1807 + P. Köln IV 185; P. Köln 178; P. Köln Inv. 2281 (ZPE 7, 1971, plate XI); PSI XI 1217, 1220 (PINTAUDI, "Papiri", plate LXI); P. Oxy. XVIII 2159-64, 78-9; III 473 (= TURNER, *Greek Manuscripts*, Nr. 69).

⁽⁵¹⁾ TH. ECKINGER, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter auf griechischen Inschriften* (Diss. Zürich 1892) 82-91, 52. C. GALLAZZI, "Supplica ad Atena su un Ostrakon da Esna", *ZPE* 61 (1985) 101-109.

A "Hyponymous" Word Pair: *'rš* and *thm(t)* in Hebrew and Ugaritic*

The study of word pairs has concentrated mainly on literary and stylistic matters especially in the area of the comparative study of Hebrew and Ugaritic poetic literatures⁽¹⁾. The word pairs which have been identified as being common to Hebrew and Ugaritic are conveniently collected by M. Dahood in the three volumes of *Ras Shamra Parallels*⁽²⁾. However, the suggested common "Canaanite" word pairs have often proved to be common Semitic features and the pairs like "heaven" and "earth" are now understood as the reflection of universals of human thinking⁽³⁾.

The phenomenon of word pairs is related to the nature of parallelism but, as phrased by A. Berlin, "It is not word pairs that create parallelism. It is parallelism that activates words pairs"⁽⁴⁾. Thus word pairs can be the result of parallelism but not vice versa. In other words, it is parallelism that makes it easier to bind two terms or expressions as a pair.

Recent studies of parallelism have emphasized its formal or grammatical analysis rather than its semantic aspect⁽⁵⁾, since the traditional explanation of parallelism as "synonymous", "antithetical" and "synthetical"⁽⁶⁾ has presented some serious problems and ambiguity. However, this emphasis on the formal nature of parallelism as well as the inherent uncertainty in the area of semantics seem to have discouraged scholars from delving deeper into the semantic analysis of the word pairs themselves.

* The research for this article was done during my stay at Tyndale House, Cambridge as a Research Fellow for the "Genesis 1-11 Project".

⁽¹⁾ See for example a useful summary of this by J. KUGEL, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (New Haven 1981) 27-40.

⁽²⁾ L. R. FISHER (ed.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* [= RSP] Vol. I (Roma 1972) 71-382 [609 entries]; Vol. II (Roma 1975) 1-39 [66 entries] and S. RUMMEL (ed.), *Ras Shamra Parallels* Vol. III (Roma 1981) 1-178 [344 entries].

⁽³⁾ Cf. P. C. CRAIGIE, "Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic Poetry: A Critical Evaluation of their Relevance for Psalm 29", *UF* 11 (1979) 137.

⁽⁴⁾ A. BERLIN, "Parallel Word Pairs: A Linguistic Explanation", *UF* 15 (1983) 16.

⁽⁵⁾ Cf. T. COLLINS, *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry* (Rome 1978); S. A. GELLER, *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry* (HSM 20; Missoula 1979); A. BERLIN, "Grammatical Aspects of Biblical Parallelism", *HUCA* 50 (1979) 17-43; M. O'CONNOR, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake 1980), etc. See also R. JAKOBSON, "Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet", *Language* 42 (1966) 399-429.

⁽⁶⁾ See S. A. GELLER's observation on "synthetic parallelism" in his *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry*, 375-385.

Scholars usually apply the traditional distinction of "synonyms" and "antonyms" for the analysis of semantic relationship between two paired words. They are often content to note the fact that A is the "same" [synonym] as or "similar" [near-synonym] to B or the fact that A is "in contrast to" [antonym] B. For example, W. G. E. Watson has avoided further theoretical distinction and lists several sub-categories under "synonymous" word pairs⁽⁷⁾. Thus the term "synonymous" is used in its broadest sense and the "meaning relation" between two terms is explained either as synonymous or as antonymous.

This tendency might be illustrated by the position of Dahood who interprets *yd* as having a "conditional meaning", "left hand", when it is paired with *ymn* "right hand" in parallelisms⁽⁸⁾. Here he assumes that the singular noun *yd* should refer to the left hand in contrast to *ymn* which refers to the right one, since he thinks that the meaning relation of the two terms is "antonymous" or contrastive. But rather, *yd* when paired with *ymn* most probably means "hand" in a general sense and *ymn* "right hand" in a specific sense, like "parent-father" relationship⁽⁹⁾. While the term *ymn* refers to only the right hand, the term *yd* might refer to either both hands or the right hand only.

I. Hyponymous Word Pairs

This meaning relation is known as "hyponym" in modern linguistics. It is sometimes explained as "inclusion"⁽¹⁰⁾, for what the term "A" (*yd*) refers to *includes* what the term "B" (*ymn*) refers to. But the term "hyponymy" is preferred to "inclusion", for it is "a relation of sense which holds between lexical items" rather than a relation of "reference", i.e. "entities which are named by lexical items"⁽¹¹⁾. The "hyponym" thus entails the "inclusion", since it can also be used for a relationship between terms that have no "reference".

The same meaning relation between paired words has been noted by A. Berlin⁽¹²⁾ who discusses the nature of "parallel word pairs" in terms of word

(7) W. G. E. WATSON, *Classical Hebrew Poetry* (Sheffield 1984) 131-132.

(8) M. DAHOOD in *RSP* I, 83 & 195f.; III *Psalms 101-150* (AB 174, Garden City 1970) 81. However, see Pope's criticism in M. H. POPE, "Marginalia to M. Dahood's *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology*", *JBL* 85 (1966) 457f.

(9) See A. BERLIN, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington 1985) 15, where she discusses *yd* as a more "general" term "hand" and *ymn* as a "subcategory" of *yd*.

(10) C. R. TABER, "Semantics", in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplement* (Nashville 1976) 803-804 lists four types of "conceptual relationships between the sense of different forms": I) synonymy and similarity, II) inclusion, III) antonymy and IV) polar opposition.

(11) Cf. J. LYONS, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge 1968) 453ff.

(12) A. BERLIN, "Parallel Word Pairs: A Linguistic Explanation", 11; *The Dynamics*, Chap. IV.

association from a psycholinguistic point of view. She uses the term, "feature addition", for our "hyponymy". She explains the meaning relations of "fruit - apple" or "animal - dog" in terms of the addition of distinctive features. However, we would rather explain these relations as "hyponymous", since it is not always easy to detect exactly what the additional features of more specific terms are, especially in languages whose data are only from ancient written sources.

Our term "hyponym" therefore means that the "sense" [A] of the more general term "A" (e.g. "fruit") completely includes the "sense" [B] of more specific term "B" (e.g. "apple"), and hence what "A" refers to includes what "B" refers to. In other words, when the referent [B] of the term "B" is a part of/belongs to the referent [A] of the term "A", we can say that "B" is *hyponymous* to "A" (13). Thus, *ymn* "right hand" is hyponymous to *yd* "hand", since what the term *ymn* refers to is normally a part of what the term *yd* refers to (14).

However, it is true that the more general term, e.g. *yd*, might experience narrowing down of its semantic field (15) when it is paired in parallelism with its hyponym, e.g. *ymn* "right hand", and *yd* in this context would refer only to one hand. But this one hand should be the right one, for it is unlikely for the more general term to become antonymous to, or "exclusive" of, its original hyponym. For example, in a pair like "parent" and "father" the former should refer either to both parents or to father, not to mother.

II. 'rš and *thm(t)* in Hebrew and Ugaritic

This approach can guide interpretation of debated terms. In the case of a word pair such as Hebrew 'ereš - *təhôm(ôt)* and Ugaritic *arš* - *thm(t)*, it is not so easy to determine meaning relationships, for the specific meaning of each term is not transparent in some instances and what the term 'ereš or *arš*, for example, refers to varies from "earth", "land" and "ground" to "underworld" depending on its context (16). However, by a careful analysis of

(13) This meaning relation should also be noted for the parallelism. Berlin's "particularizing" parallelism and Clines' "parallelism of greater precision" are, in our terms, "hyponymous" parallelism. Cf. D. J. A. CLINES, "The Parallelism of Greater Precision: Notes from Isaiah 40 for a Theory of Hebrew Poetry", *Directions in Biblical Hebrew Poetry* (ed. E. R. FOLLIS) (Sheffield 1987) 77-100, esp. 96, no. 2.

(14) The analysis of meaning relations in terms of "meaning inclusion" (= hyponym) and "meaning exclusion" (= antonym) would be extremely profitable for the semantic discussions of word pairs, for, set in the context of poetic parallelism, the two terms seem to acquire a closer association to each other than in an ordinary prose context.

(15) Or, "feature addition", in Berlin's terminology.

(16) Note also that "earth" (*eršetu*) in Akkadian can mean both "earth" in the English sense and "underworld". In the ancient Babylonian cosmology, there are three "earths", i.e. 1) the abode of men, 2) the Apsû and 3) the underworld. Cf. W. G. LAMBERT, "The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon", in *Ancient Cos-*

the nature of collocation or word associations within a parallelism one should be able to determine the meanings of paired terms.

1. Ugaritic Word Pair *arṣ* - *thmt*

For example, in the Ugaritic text KTU 1.3[¹⁷nt]:III:24-25[21-22]:

tant⁽¹⁷⁾. *šmm*. ' *m*. *arṣ*
thmt. ' *mn*. *kbkbm*

"The murmur of the heavens to the earth
 Of the deeps to the stars"^(17a)

there are six possible word pairs: (1) *šmm* - *arṣ*, (2) *šmm* - *thmt*, (3) *šmm* - *kbkbm*, (4) *arṣ* - *thmt*, (5) *arṣ* - *kbkbm* and (6) *thmt* - *kbkbm*. But only three combinations are possible from the context.

a) (1) *šmm* - *arṣ* and (6) *thmt* - *kbkbm*

Grammatically the most natural analysis of the parallel structure would be as follows:

a-b-c-d
 b'-c'-d'

The words *šmm* (b) and *arṣ* (d) as well as *thmt* (b') and *kbkbm* (d'), are connected syntagmatically to each other by the preposition ' *m(n)* "to" (c / /c'). Since *šmm* "heaven" (b) and *arṣ* (d) are a universally acknowledged "antonymous" pair⁽¹⁸⁾, the latter term should mean "earth", which refers to

mologies (C. BLACKER-M. LOEWE eds.) (London 1975) 59; W. G. LAMBERT-A. R. MILLARD, *Atra-Ḥasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford 1969) 166.

⁽¹⁷⁾ On the recent discussions of this term, D. PARDEE, "The New Canaanite Myths and Legends", *BO* 37 (1980) 277.

^(17a) C. H. GORDON, "Poetic Legends and Myths from Ugarit", *Berytus* 25 (1977) 79.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Among Semitic languages, Hebrew has *šamayim* - 'ereš and 'ereš - *šamayim*; Ugaritic *šmm* - *arṣ* and *arṣ-w-šmm* (Cf. *RSP* I, II 71 [p. 126f.], II 208 [p. 190] & II 554 [p. 356]); Akkadian *šamē* - *eršetū*. In non-Semitic languages, Sumerian has *an-ki*; Japanese *ten* - *chi*, following Chinese *t'ien-t' i*, etc.

It is interesting to note that in a Neo-Assyrian mythological explanatory text the initial state of the world described in *Enuma Elish*, ll. 1-2,

"When above the heavens were not named,
 below the earth (*ammatum*) was not given a name,"

(*CAD*, A/2 [1968] 75)

is explained as "When heaven and earth were not created" (*kī šamē eršetī lā ibbanūni*). Cf. A. LIVINGSTONE, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford 1986) 79ff. Note that the term *ammatum* seems to refer to the "earth" in general, which is in contrast with the "heaven", rather than the "underworld" (Cf. M. HUTTER, "*ammatu*: Unterwelt in *Enuma Eliš* I 2", *RA* 79 [1985] 187-188). Labat translates the term as "la

everything under the heaven, rather than “land” or anything else. The relationship between *thmt* (b') and *kbkbm* “stars” (d')⁽¹⁹⁾ may also be taken as contrastive like the pair (1) from this parallel structure, though *thmt* and *kbkbm* are not a “parallel” word pair in this context. Both pairs, (1) and (6), are thus “antonymous” (or “exclusive”) and the two elements of these pairs refer to two opposite directions, i.e. “heaven” ↔ “earth” and “oceans” ↔ “stars”.

b) (2) *šmm* - *thmt* and (5) *arṣ* - *kbkbm*

In a parallel structure like this, however, the “vertical” correspondence rather than the “horizontal” adjacency⁽²⁰⁾ might be a dominant factor which “activates word pairs”. Thus, *šmm* (b) might better be understood as closely related paradigmatically with *thmt* (b'), rather than with *arṣ* (d).

This “antonymous” word pair, *šmm* “heaven” and *thmt* “ocean(s)”, is certainly a traditional one like *šmm* “heaven” and *ym* “sea”⁽²¹⁾ in the ancient Northwest Semitic languages, as is suggested by a divine couple, *šamuma* (= *šmm*) “Heaven-god” and *tahāmatu* (= *thmt*) “Ocean-god” in Ugarit, which corresponds to the Sumerian *An* and its female counterpart *Antum* in a multilingual vocabulary text (Ug V, 137:III:33'-34'). This divine couple appears also as a compound divine name, *šmm w thm* “Heaven-and-Ocean” (KTU 1.100 [607]:1) like the divine name *lḫn. w qdš* (KTU 1.16:I[125]:11, 21-22), though the goddess *thm* here lacks the feminine ending -*t*⁽²²⁾.

Hebrew *təhôm* also stands in an “antonymous” relationship to *šamayim*⁽²³⁾. For example, in Gen 7,11, where the beginning of the great flood is mentioned, “the springs of the great deep” (*ma'yənôt təhôm rabbāh*) and “the floodgates of the heavens” (NIV) (*'ārubbôt haššamayim*) appear as an “exclusive” pair. The same pair with a slight variation also appears in Gen 8,2 where the closing of *ma'yənôt təhôm* and *'ārubbôt haššamayim* is mentioned. Also in Prov 8,27, *šamayim* is set in contrast with *təhôm* in parallelism. In Gen 49,25 and Deut 33,13 the same antonymous pair appears in parallelism. Also *šamayim* and *təhômôt*, the plural form of *təhôm*, appear as an antonymous pair in Ps 107,26.

The other two words *arṣ* (d) and *kbkbm* “stars” (d') can also be taken

terre” in R. LABAT, et al., *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique* (Paris 1970) 38.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Note a similar pair, *təhômôt* “oceans” // *šəḥāqīm* “clouds”, in Prov 3,20.

⁽²⁰⁾ For a grammatical discussion on the problem of adjacency and dependency in poetic parallelism, see my “Literary Insertion, AXB Pattern, in Hebrew and Ugaritic: a Problem of Adjacency and Dependency in Poetic Parallelism”, *UF* 18 (1986) 351-361.

⁽²¹⁾ Cf. *RSP* I, II 555 (p. 356). For Akkadian examples, see J. C. DE MOOR-P. VAN DER LUGT, “The Spectre of Pan-Ugaritism”, *BO* 31 (1974) 22.

⁽²²⁾ Hebrew *təhôm*, without an ending -*t*, appears both as a masculine noun (e.g. Hab 3,10) and as a feminine noun (e.g. Gen 49,25, Deut 33,13).

⁽²³⁾ Cf. *RSP* I, II 560 (pp. 358f.).

paradigmatically as a word pair like the Ugaritic *arṣ* - 'rpt "cloud" in KTU 1.4:V:6ff.[51:V:68ff]. However, the "earth-and-stars" combination is rather unusual.

c) (3) *šmm* - *kbkbm* and (4) *arṣ* - *thmt*

Since the referential direction between "heaven" and "earth" in the first colon and that between "oceans" and "stars" in the second colon are opposite, i.e.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{\textit{šmm}} [\text{above}] &\Rightarrow \text{\textit{arṣ}} [\text{below}] \\ \text{\textit{thmt}} [\text{below}] &\Leftarrow \text{\textit{kbkbm}} [\text{above}], \end{aligned}$$

a chiasmic structure has been suggested for this parallelism in spite of the formal and grammatical pattern given above⁽²⁴⁾.

The parallelistic structure based on this referential correspondence would be as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} &\text{a-b-c-d} \\ &\text{d'-c'-b'}. \end{aligned}$$

In this structural understanding, *šmm* "heaven" (b) and *kbkbm* "stars" (b') should be taken as closely related to each other as a "parallel" word pair. This word pair often appears both in Ugaritic and Hebrew⁽²⁵⁾, and their meaning relation is hyponymous, since what the term *kbkbm* refers to is a part of what the term *šmm* refers to. Hence, two terms are juxtaposed in a construct chain as *kôkəbê haššamayim* (Gen 22,17, etc.) and their order cannot be reversed.

As for the other pair, Dahood thought that the chiasmic arrangement would "favor the meaning 'netherworld'" for *arṣ* which is parallel to *thmt* "depths"⁽²⁶⁾. The meaning relation of these two words is seemingly under-

⁽²⁴⁾ DAHOOD, *UF* 1 (1969) 25; *RSP* I, 127, followed by W. A. VAN DER WEIDEN, *Le Livre des Proverbes: Notes philologiques* (Roma 1970) 37; M. K. WAKEMAN, *God's Battle with the Monster* (Leiden 1973) 101; A. R. CERESKO, "The A:B::B:A Word Pattern in Hebrew and Northwest Semitic with Special Reference to the Book of Job", *UF* 7 (1975) 74; J. S. KSELMAN, "The Recovery of Poetic Fragments from the Pentateuchal Priestly Source", *JBL* 97 (1978) 163; W. G. E. WATSON, "Strophic Chiasmus in Ugaritic Poetry", *UF* 15 (1983) 263: "Essentially, the chiasmus here is *semantic*".

⁽²⁵⁾ Cf. *RSP* I, II 282 (p. 225f.) and II 556 (p. 357).

⁽²⁶⁾ Cf. M. J. DAHOOD, "Northwest Semitic Philology and Job", *The Bible in Current Catholic Thought* (ed. J. L. MCKENZIE) (New York 1962) 58; *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Roma 1963) 52; *UF* 1 (1969) 25; *Psalms*, II, 176, followed by VAN DER WEIDEN *Proverbs*, 37; J. J. SCULLION, "Some Difficult Texts in Isaiah cc. 56-66 in the Light of Modern Scholarship", *UF* 4 (1972) 122, esp. note 85; CERESKO, "The A:B::B:A Word Pattern in Hebrew and Northwest Semitic", 74. Note however that not everyone who suggests the chiasmic structure interprets *arṣ* as "the nether world" like Dahood. For example, "earth" (Wakeman; Watson), see above (note 24).

stood as synonymous and the “conditional” meaning, “netherworld”, has been suggested for *arš*. However, since the meaning relation of *kbkbm* (b') and *šmm* (b) is hyponymous in this parallelistic structure, it seems that the meaning relation of *arš* (d) and *thmt* (d') is also hyponymous. In other words, what the term *thmt* refers to might be taken as a part of what the term *arš* refers to⁽²⁷⁾. And the term *arš* which is contrasted with *šmm* in the first colon most probably refers to everything that is under the heaven.

2. Hebrew Word Pair 'ereš - təhôm(ôt)

This hyponymous relationship might be supported by the OT examples. For example, Ps 71,20 has the construct chain, *təhômôt hā'āreš*, which suggests that the term *təhômôt* is hyponymous rather than synonymous with 'ereš⁽²⁸⁾. In other words, what *təhômôt* refers to is a part of what 'ereš refers to. Kraus takes what 'ereš refers to as the “netherworld” and suggests that *təhômôt hā'āreš* here refers to “die unterirdischen Chaosgewässer, durch die der Tote zur *אֵלֶּיךָ* eingeht”⁽²⁹⁾. It should be noted that, unlike Dahood, he takes the meaning relation between the two terms as hyponymous. However, “die unterirdischen Chaosgewässer” would not fit the present context of the Ugaritic text, since *thmt* is contrasted with *kbkbm* “stars”.

a) Psalm 148

This hyponymous relationship between the two terms is also supported by Ps 148,7, which reads:

haləlū 'et-YHWH min-hā'āreš
tannînim wəkol-təhômôt

“Praise the Lord from the earth,
you great sea creatures and all ocean depths” (NIV).

In this context, what *təhômôt* refers to belongs to what *hā'āreš* refers to and hence the term *təhômôt* is hyponymous to the term *hā'āreš*.

Here Dahood took the meaning relation of *haššamayim* (v. 1) and

⁽²⁷⁾ In the immediately following text KTU 1.3 ['nt]:III:26-28, where the term *arš* is again contrasted with *šmm* and “men” (*nšm*) is in parallel with “folk of the land” (*hmlt arš*), the term *arš* means “earth/land”, not “the netherworld”.

⁽²⁸⁾ M. K. WAKEMAN, “The Biblical Earth Monster in the Cosmogonic Combat Myth”, *JBL* 88 (1969) 317, no. 18, holds that because 'ereš and *təhôm* are “synonymous”, they “come to form a hendiadys” in Ps 71,20. However, this construct chain is not a hendiadys, though a hendiadys may be broken up to constitute a construct chain. Moreover, her argument for synonymity based on a simple “substitution” in the case of the meaning relation between *hā'āreš* and *təhômôt* (Ps 77,17,19, etc.) or *hārîm* and *təhômôt* (Exod 15,8) is not convincing.

⁽²⁹⁾ H.-J. KRAUS, *Psalmen 2. Teilband: Psalmen 60–150* (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978) 653.

hā'āreš (v. 7) as polar opposition and suggests that *'ereš* here too should mean "the netherworld", "the opposite extreme" of heaven⁽³⁰⁾. However, it should be noted that the following verses never talk about the items in the netherworld. On the other hand, vv. 2-4 mention the items in the heavens. Dahood's following comment itself might suggest that his own assumption that the psalmist has a tripartite understanding of the universe is wrong: "What does appear singular is the fact that the psalmist dedicates only one verse to the subterranean beings, after having given six verses to celestial bodies, and reserving the next seven for terrestrial creatures"⁽³¹⁾.

As recent studies of the literary structure of Ps 148 show, the psalm should be divided into two sections, i.e. vv. 1-6 and vv. 7-14⁽³²⁾. While the first section refers to various items in the heavens, the second mentions those under the heavens. This literary structure suggests that in the present context the psalmist seems to use the term *'ereš* in the sense which refers to everything under the heaven, including the sea⁽³³⁾. It is contrasted with "heaven" in the "exclusive" word pair and *tannînîm* and *tāhômôt* are treated as belonging to the earth⁽³⁴⁾. Thus, the psalmist's understanding of the world is bipartite, rather than tripartite, in Ps 148.

The "logic"⁽³⁵⁾ which allows the psalmist to include in the second section several meteorological phenomena, such as "storm-wind" (v. 8), and "flying birds" (v. 10) as well as *tannînîm* and *tāhômôt* (v. 7) may look strange at first glance. But it might be supported by the "logic" of the ancient Semites as illustrated by *Enuma Elish* which, according to Lambert, combines two originally separate cosmologies, i.e. the one which is bipartite (heaven/earth) and is "obtained in this story by the splitting of Tiamat's body", and the other which is tripartite (heaven/earth/Apsu) and whose three levels are represented by Anu, Enlil and Ea (Enki) respectively⁽³⁶⁾.

bipartite

heaven
earth

⁽³⁰⁾ *Psalms*, III, 353.

⁽³¹⁾ *Psalms*, III, 353f.

⁽³²⁾ E.g. D. R. HILLERS, "A Study of Psalm 148", *CBQ* 40 (1978) 328; P. AUFFRET, *La sagesse a bâti sa maison* (OBO 49; Fribourg 1982) 385-404.

⁽³³⁾ Cf. L. I. J. STADELMANN, *The Hebrew Conception of the World* (An. Bib. 39; Rome 1970) 3. He includes the sea in the "second level of the world" in the "three-leveled structure of the world", i.e. heaven - earth - underworld. See pp. 154ff. However, no discussion of the term *tāhôm(ôt)* is offered in Section C which deals with the problem of the sea.

⁽³⁴⁾ Note also that in KTU 1.23 [52]:62-63 the "sea" (*ym*) in an ordinary sense is hyponymous to the "earth" (*arš*) which is in parallel with *šmm*, though Dahood suggested here a translation "nether world" for *arš* (cf. *RSP* I, II 64 [p. 122f]).

⁽³⁵⁾ HILLERS, "A Study of Psalm 148", 328: "We must not demand perfect logic of the psalmist's cosmology; we must permit him to list dragons and deeps, fire and storm-wind under the rubric 'earth'". Note also AUFFRET's explanation: "il s'agit là à la fois de l'abîme et de la terre", *Sagesse*, 396 as a criticism of Dahood's position.

⁽³⁶⁾ LAMBERT, "The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon", 58.

tripartite

heaven : Anu
 earth : Enlil
 Apsû : Ea (Enki)

The latter cosmology of “a three decker universe” can also be identified in the Atra-hasis epic (I i 7-18)⁽³⁷⁾. This tripartite cosmology appears to have been transformed into a bipartite one as the author of Enuma Elish seems to locate Enlil in Ešarra (between heaven and the Apsû), “a lower heaven”⁽³⁸⁾, thus appointing Anu and Enlil to the heavens, i.e. “the heaven” and “a lower heaven”, and Marduk and Ea to the earth, i.e. “Esagila” and “Apsû”⁽³⁹⁾.

Enuma Elish

heaven : Anu
 Ešarra (= “a lower heaven”): Enlil
 Esagila (= “earth”) : Marduk
 Apsû : Ea

Therefore, it is not surprising to note that in the psalmist’s logic the term *hā’āreš* which is in contrast with *haššāmayim* refers to everything under the heavens, including storm and oceans. In other words, the terms *hā’āreš* and *haššāmayim* are mutually exclusive within the framework of bipartite cosmology. They are not in a polar opposition like “heaven” ↔ “underworld” which Dahood assumed for this psalm.

As for the meaning of *təhômôt* of Ps 148,7, Kraus suggests either “die Urfluten (akkad. Tiāmat), die unter der Erde ruhen” or simply “das Meer”⁽⁴⁰⁾. However, the waters under the earth are called Apsû rather than Tiamat in Mesopotamian cosmology⁽⁴¹⁾. Since *’ereš* in this verse most probably means “earth” rather than “underworld”, its hyponym *təhômôt* in the present context would mean “oceans” in an ordinary sense like Ugaritic *thm*, Akkadian *tiāmtum* and Eblaite *tihām(a)tum*⁽⁴²⁾.

b) “heaven/earth/sea”

Now, it is important to note that in the Old Testament *təhôm(ôt)* never appears as a term for “sea(s)” in a tripartite description of the world, i.e.

⁽³⁷⁾ Cf. LAMBERT-MILLARD, *Atra-Hasis*, 166.

⁽³⁸⁾ LAMBERT, “The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon”, 58.

⁽³⁹⁾ On four divisions of the world, see most recently LIVINGSTONE, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works*, 79ff.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ KRAUS, *Psalmen*, 1143.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Both appear as an ordinary word pair, “deep” (*apsû*) and “sea” (*tāmtu*), for example, in W. G. LAMBERT, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford 1960) pp. 136f. line 172 and pp. 128f. lines 37-38. Cf. DE MOOR-VAN DER LUGT, “Pan-Ugaritism”, 15. See also note 16 (above).

⁽⁴²⁾ See my forthcoming article on the non-personified use of **tihām*-“ocean” in the ancient Semitic languages.

"heaven/earth/sea" ⁽⁴³⁾ though *təhôm(ôt)* is sometimes closely associated with *yām* ⁽⁴⁴⁾. The most well-known passage is Exod 20,11, where "the heaven", "the earth" and "the sea" as well as "all that is in them" are mentioned. The first three of these elements seem to be fixed in Hebrew expression, since they are virtually the same in several passages with variants for the fourth, as shown in the following list:

Exod 20,11	<i>haššamayim: hā'āreṣ:</i>	<i>hayyām: kol-'āšer-bām</i>
Ps 146,6 ⁽⁴⁵⁾	<i>šamayim: 'āreṣ:</i>	<i>hayyām: kol-'āšer-bām</i>
Hag 2,6	<i>haššamayim: hā'āreṣ:</i>	<i>hayyām: hehorābāh</i>
Ps 96,11	<i>haššamayim: hā'āreṣ:</i>	<i>hayyām: mālō'ô</i>
Ps 69,35	<i>šamayim: 'āreṣ:</i>	<i>yammīm: kol-rōmēs bām</i>
Ps 135,6	<i>baššamayim: bā'āreṣ:</i>	<i>bayyammīm: kol-təhômôt</i>

In Ps 146,6 the expression is the same as Exod 20,11 except for the definite articles. In Hag 2,6 and Ps 96,11 the same pattern, "heaven"- "earth"- "sea", is mentioned before the fourth elements, "the dry land" (*hehorābāh*) and "all that is in it" (*mālō'ô*). Pss 69,35 and 135,6 have a plural form of *yām* and their fourth elements, as in 96,11, are additional items which are related only to the "sea(s)", i.e. *kol-rōmēs bām* "all that move in them" and *kol-təhômôt* "all oceans" respectively. While in 96,11 and 69,35 the additional phrases are hyponymous to *yam(mīm)*, in 135,6 *kol-təhômôt* is either synonymous or hyponymous to the "seas".

⁽⁴³⁾ STADELMANN, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 9f. lists Ps 135,6 & 148,1-7 as examples for *šmym - 'rṣ - thwmwt* scheme and Prov 8,27-32 & Ps 33,6-8 as examples for *šmym - tbl - thwm(wt)* scheme. However, in Ps 135,6, *təhômôt* is not the third term (see below) and in 148,1-7, *təhômôt* refers to a part of the earth (see above). As for Prov 8,27-32, *təhôm* corresponds to *šamayim* only in v. 27 and the term *tēbēl* appears only in v. 31. Note that the relationship between the earth and the sea is described in terms of *'āreṣ* and *yām* in v. 29. Ps 33,8 which mentions *hā'āreṣ // yōšabē tēbēl* should be treated separately from vv. 6-7. J. M. VINCENT, "Recherches exégétiques sur le Psaume XXXIII", *VT* 28 (1978) 447 recognizes in Ps 33,5-7 a triad, *hā'āreṣ* (v. 5), *šamayim* (v. 6) and *mē hayyām* (v. 7), "terre-ciel-mer".

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Cf. *RSP* I, II 236 (pp. 204f.).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Compare the following Greek versions:

145,6(LXX)	τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς,
134,6(LXX)	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσοις·
Rev 5,13	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πάντα
Rev 5,3	καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς
Phil 2,10	ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων

In Rev 5,13 καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς γῆς, though some MSS omit it, is the third element of tripartite division in Rev 5,3, which reflects Exod 20,4 and Deut 5,8. Hebrew *'ereṣ* seems to be understood as referring both to the ground ("on the earth") and to the under-ground ("under the earth").

Exod 20,4 and Deut 5,8 describe these three divisions as *baššamayim mimma'al* "in heaven above", *bā'āreš mittāḥat* "on the earth beneath" and *bammayim mittāḥat lā'āreš* "in the waters below" (lit. "beneath the earth"). The creatures in three divisions, i.e. "birds", "animals" and "fish", are never mentioned in this order but in the following two different orders: (1) "sea"- "heaven"- "earth" (or "field") in Gen 1,26.28, Ezek 38,20; (2) "earth" (or "field")- "heaven"- "sea" in Gen 9,2, Hos 4,3, (Zeph 1,3), Ps 8,8-9. However, in none of the passages cited above does the term *təhôm(ôt)* appear.

Thus, in the framework of a tripartite understanding of the world it is *yām* "sea", not *təhôm* "ocean", that constitutes the third part of the world and corresponds to the Apsû of the Babylonian scheme of "heaven/earth/Apsû". On the other hand, the Hebrew *təhôm(ôt)* is hyponymous to the Hebrew 'ereš and seems to correspond to Apsû of the Babylonian scheme of three levels of "earth", i.e. "abode of men/Apsû/under-world"⁽⁴⁶⁾.

c) Prov 3 and Gen 1

- v. 19 YHWH *bəḥokmāh yāsad-'āreš*
 v. 20 *kônēn šamayim bitbūnāh*
bəda'tô təhômôt nibqā'û
ûš(ə)ḥāqīm yir'āpū-tāl

Now in Prov 3,20, the term *təhômôt* stands in parallel with *šəḥāqīm* "clouds" antonymously. On the other hand, in the preceding verse (v. 19) the term 'āreš is put in direct opposition to the term *šamayim*. Since the term "clouds" (*šəḥāqīm*) is hyponymous to *šamayim*⁽⁴⁷⁾, like *kḇkḇm* "stars" to *šmm* "heaven" in KTU 1.3 ['nī]:III:24-25 [21-22], the term *təhômôt* here also should be taken as hyponymous to 'āreš.

- v. 1 *bərē'šit bārā' 'ēlōhīm 'et haššamayim wə'et hā'āreš*
 v. 2 *wəhā'āreš ḥayətāh tōhū wābōhū*
wəḥōšek 'al-pənē təhôm
wəruḥ 'ēlōhīm mərəḥpet 'al-pənē hammāyim

⁽⁴⁶⁾ See above, note 16.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The word pair *šamayim* and *šəḥāqīm* appears in Deut 33,26, Isa 45,8, Jer 51,9, Job 35,5, Pss 36,6; 57,11; 108,5. Note that in the correspondences, *šəḥāqīm* = *niblē šamayim* (Job 38,37) and *šəḥāqīm* = *daltē šamayim* (Ps 78,23), *šəḥāqīm* is hyponymous to *šamayim*.

In Prov 8,28, the term *šəḥāqīm* appears in parallel with a phrase 'inôt təhôm "fountains of the deep" after an antonymous word pair *šamayim* // *təhôm* in v. 27. From these verses it is evident that *šəḥāqīm* is hyponymous to *šamayim* as the phrase 'inôt təhôm is hyponymous to *təhôm* (cf. a hyponymous word pair *təhômôt* // *ma'yānôt* in v. 24). Hence the term *šəḥāqīm* here is better understood as having a usual sense "clouds" rather than as "vault" (M. DAHOOD, "Proverbs 8,22-31: Translation and Commentary", *CBQ* 30 [1968] 517) or "skies" (G. A. YEE, "An Analysis of Prov. 8,22-31 according to Style and Structure", *ZAW* 94 [1982] 61). Yee's suggestion to divide v. 27 into two and connect v. 27b with v. 28a is unnecessary, for it would destroy the hyponymous relation of v. 28 to v. 27.

The nature of the relationship between the "earth" (*hā'āreš*) and *tāhôm* in Gen 1,2 also seems to be hyponymous. Here too *tāhôm* "ocean" is a part of *hā'āreš* since this term *hā'āreš*, which constitutes an antonymous or exclusive word pair together with *haššamayim* in Gen 1,1, refers to everything under the heaven. In other words, the cosmology in vv. 1-2 is bipartite, rather than tripartite, describing the entire world in terms of "heavens and earth". It should be noted that in v. 2 the term *tāhôm* rather than *yām* "sea" appears. The term *yām* would constitute the third division of the tripartite universe, "heaven/earth/sea". On the other hand, the "ocean" (*tāhôm*) and its "waters" (*hammāyim*) are never treated as the third division of the tripartite cosmology in the Old Testament.

What this hyponymous word pair, *hā'āreš* // *tāhôm*, refers to is described in this passage by another pair of expressions, *tōhû wābōhû* // *hōšek*⁽⁴⁸⁾, "not yet" normal, i.e. "not yet productive and uninhabitable and without light"⁽⁴⁹⁾. The water (*hammāyim*) of *tāhôm* was seemingly covering all the "earth" as vv. 6ff. suggest, though in a normal situation the ocean is under control that it may not pass its limit (i.e. "its edge"⁽⁵⁰⁾), *pīw* in Prov 8,29 or "boundary" *gābûl* in Ps 104,9, as it is also suggested by an Akkadian expression, "the bolt, the bar of the sea" (*šigaru naḥbalu ti'āmtim*), in the Atra-Hasis epic⁽⁵¹⁾.

In conclusion, the modern linguistic theory of meaning will continue to help biblical scholarship when we have an adequate control of such a theory. It would be particularly profitable for biblical exegesis to take note of the "hyponymous" relation between two paired words, such as *'ereš* / *arš* and *tāhôm(ôt)* / *thm(t)*.

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⁽⁴⁸⁾ Cf. KSELMAN, "The Recovery of Poetic Fragments", 164, no. 13. See also my article, "*tōhû* in Isa. xlv 19", VT [forthcoming].

⁽⁴⁹⁾ Cf. my article "*nabalkutu, tu-a-bi-[û]* and *tōhû wābōhû*", Ugarit Forschungen [forthcoming].

⁽⁵⁰⁾ DAHOOD, "Proverbs 8,22-31: Translation and Commentary", 513.

⁽⁵¹⁾ In Atra-Hasis I i 15-16 (also cf. S v 1, x rev i 6, 10, ii 4, 11, 18, 34) Enki is given "the bolt, the bar of the sea" (*šigaru naḥbalu ti'āmtim*) so that the sea might not pass its limit. Note in this context the term *ti'āmtim* is not personified but has an ordinary sense. Cf. LAMBERT-MILLARD, Atra-Hasis, 166.

A similar flooding situation is mentioned in several Akkadian texts. For example, a Sumerian-Akkadian bilingual hymn to Nergal says:

ta a.ab.ba ki an e.da.ab.uš:
minâ ša tâmtu eršeta umallakum

"Was, womit man das Meer, die Erde für dich gefüllt hat?"

Cf. J. BÖLLENRÜCHER, "Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal", Leipziger Semitistische Studien I/6 (1904), 43, 46; CAD M/1 (1977) 176.

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

R. N. WHYBRAY, *The Making of the Pentateuch. A Methodological Study* (JSOT Supplement Series 53). 263 p. Sheffield 1987. Sheffield Academic Press. US \$14.95.

Au concert des études sur le Pentateuque, R. N. Whybray ajoute une note personnelle: il plaide en faveur d'un auteur unique. Sa démonstration comporte trois parties. Les deux premières sont négatives: il critique l'hypothèse documentaire (Part I) et l'école de l'histoire des formes ou des traditions (Part II). Dans la dernière partie (Part III), il propose sa propre solution.

Le bilan de l'hypothèse documentaire résume les griefs que les chercheurs lui font depuis un certain temps (surtout U. Cassuto, M. H. Segal et R. Rendtorff). Ils sont principalement d'ordre philosophique, linguistique, littéraire et culturel. La base philosophique de l'hypothèse documentaire s'est avérée inexacte: l'évolution de la religion d'Israël est plus complexe que ne le pensait J. Wellhausen et ses disciples. Du point de vue linguistique, il est admis aujourd'hui qu'il est impossible de distinguer clairement des étapes dans l'évolution de la langue des écrits du Pentateuque et par conséquent de séparer sur cette base des documents de date différente.

Dans le domaine littéraire et culturel, les critiques sont tout aussi graves. L'opinion selon laquelle le Pentateuque serait une compilation de divers documents préexistants est sans parallèle dans le monde littéraire de l'époque. Ensuite, la critique des sources fait preuve d'une assez grande ignorance du monde culturel de la Bible. Les critères qu'elle lui applique sont anachroniques: on ne peut lui demander de correspondre aux canons des œuvres historiques et littéraires de notre époque. Il semble également illogique de considérer que la cohérence soit la marque des documents et l'incohérence celle des rédacteurs alors qu'ils proviennent d'un même milieu. Et quel genre de cohérence était propre aux œuvres anciennes? Par ailleurs, il paraît invraisemblable d'imaginer des rédacteurs travaillant avec «de la colle et des ciseaux». Les qualités esthétiques et artistiques des récits apparaissent mieux lorsqu'on fait litière de l'hypothèse documentaire. Les auteurs anciens étaient sans doute plus libres et plus créatifs que nous ne le pensons (cf. R. Alter). En bref, le critère de cohérence («consistency») si souvent employé par les critiques se retourne contre eux et R. N. Whybray en signale de nombreux exemples. Son «Résumé et Conclusions» (p. 129-131) est un réquisitoire particulièrement sévère.

Dans la seconde partie, R. N. Whybray affronte l'école de M. Noth (et de H. Gunkel), l'école scandinave de I. Engnell, E. Nielsen et R. A. Carlson, et il

discute les positions plus récentes de G. Fohrer, R. Rendtorff et E. Blum. Que reproche-t-il à ces travaux? Ici, il fait souvent chorus avec J. Van Seters. Tout d'abord, il est impossible de prouver l'existence d'une longue tradition orale antérieure aux textes écrits et surtout, il n'est pas prouvé qu'Israël devait avoir une tradition orale parce que l'écriture était inconnue à une haute époque. Les modèles extra-bibliques nous conduisent à des impasses. Les lois d'Ollrik s'appliquent aussi bien à des textes écrits qu'à des récits oraux. La saga islandaise n'a sans doute pas connu de stade oral et il y a de grandes différences entre ces récits nordiques et les récits bibliques (cf. déjà P. Gibert, «Légende ou Saga», *VT* 24 [1974] 411-420). Une spécialiste comme R. Finnegan invite à la prudence: avant de pouvoir tirer des conclusions, il faut disposer d'un abondant matériel, car le monde des traditions orales est très varié.

D'autre part, il est particulièrement difficile (et aléatoire) de comparer la prose écrite biblique avec la poésie orale moderne. Il y a plus grave: les études dans le monde des traditions orales ont mis en doute l'existence de ce qu'on a pu considérer comme les piliers de l'école de l'histoire des formes: *Gattung* et *Sitz im Leben*. Aucun des deux n'est fixe comme le pense nombre de biblistes et la fluidité semble être la première caractéristique du monde des traditions orales. Ensuite, nous n'avons aucune trace de l'existence d'une corporation de conteurs professionnels dans la Bible. Enfin, il est bien malaisé de distinguer tradition orale et traditions écrites, surtout lorsqu'on ne dispose que d'écrits, comme dans le cas de la Bible. Une fois de plus, le bilan se solde par un échec.

Après avoir fait place nette, R. N. Whybray construit sa propre hypothèse. Pour ce faire, il lui faut d'abord écarter d'autres essais qui lui semblent insuffisants. La proposition de S. Sandmel d'un développement du Pentateuque par accréation selon le modèle du midrash et de la haggada ne rend pas compte de la cohérence du texte final. R. Rendtorff et H. H. Schmid n'ont pas réussi à prouver que tout le complexe Gen-Nb est le fruit d'une édition deutéronomiste suivant un plan organique et que cette structure est en accord avec la théologie deutéronomiste. J. Van Seters n'a sans doute pas poussé jusqu'au bout sa comparaison avec les œuvres de certains historiens grecs (cf. à ce propos K. Koch, «Auf der Suche nach der Geschichte», *Bib* 67 [1986] 109-117), entre autres Hérodote et Hellanicus. Car nous avons là des compositions qui font preuve d'une grande variété dans le style et le mode d'agencement tout en étant le travail d'un seul auteur. Le but premier de ces «histoires» est d'affermir l'identité nationale d'un peuple. Ces détails ne manquent pas d'analogies avec la Bible.

Les travaux sur le style des récits du Pentateuque (L. Alonso Schökel et R. Alter surtout; cf. aussi J. P. Fokkelman et M. Sternberg entre autres, voir *Bib* 58 [1977] 110-112; 67 [1986] 437-439) fournissent à R. N. Whybray son principal argument en faveur de l'unicité d'auteur, puisque c'est là sa thèse finale. Comme nous n'avons aucune preuve de l'existence des traditions du Pentateuque avant le 6^e siècle (les auteurs antérieurs à cette période ne les citent jamais), il est plus simple d'admettre que le Pentateuque est la création d'un seul auteur qui a vécu aux alentours de ce 6^e siècle. Il disposait peut-être de sources écrites, mais sûrement pas des «documents» classiques. Il est

avant tout une personnalité qui a fait preuve d'originalité et il faut lui attribuer l'essentiel de l'œuvre, dans son unité de composition et sa variété de styles.

R.N.W. n'hésite pas à employer le terme «fiction» pour qualifier ce travail (le terme anglais n'a pas les connotations que nous lui connaissons en français). Comme les historiens de son temps, cet «auteur» a voulu écrire une «histoire d'Israël» préfacée par quelques chapitres sur l'origine du monde. Peut-être voulait-il en faire une sorte d'introduction à l'histoire deutéronomiste. Dans l'état actuel de la recherche, R.N.W. considère cette solution comme la plus raisonnable.

Il est probable que la discussion ne s'arrêtera pas là. Le terme «auteur», par exemple, pourrait être nuancé en fonction des travaux de M. Parry et A. B. Lord. Peut-il être un véritable créateur ou est-il avant tout un porteparole, une personnification de la tradition? Par ailleurs, cette fidélité à la tradition ne signifie en aucune manière que l'«auteur» ne puisse faire preuve de liberté dans la formulation. Cf. à ce propos R. Scholes-R. Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative* (London 1966) 17-56. Cependant, il convient de dire que la recherche pourrait bien corroborer un certain nombre des vues avancées par R.N.W. Entre autres, les études sur l'Iliade et l'Odyssée ont fait bien du progrès et les chercheurs parlent plus volontiers de l'unité d'auteur (cf. D. W. Gooding, *The Story of David and Goliath* [ed. D. Barthélemy] [OBO 73; Fribourg, Suisse-Göttingen 1986]). Une étude approfondie de la littérature traditionnelle de l'Antiquité nous amènera sans doute à revoir notre notion d'auteur. Que l'on pense, par exemple, à la manière dont Virgile s'est servi d'Homère.

Il est une autre pièce à verser au dossier. C'est le travail de J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia 1982). Bien qu'il s'agisse d'une étude sur une seule œuvre, les conclusions sont particulièrement intéressantes. Car nous disposons de documents variés et datés avec assez de précision. Or, on constate par exemple qu'il y a un saut entre les «fragments» sumériens et la première épopée plus ou moins complète en akkadien (ca. 2000-1600). Jusqu'à preuve du contraire, il n'y a pas trace d'œuvre intermédiaire ou de lent processus rédactionnel. A partir de ce moment, l'œuvre connaît encore une certaine évolution. Chaque nouvelle version fait preuve d'originalité et les changements sont parfois importants, même s'ils touchent plus à la forme qu'au fond. Jamais cependant les versions ne ressemblent à une conflation de plusieurs documents parallèles et complets. Enfin, au dernier stade, l'épopée connaît une sorte de «version officielle», «canonique», de *textus receptus* (dernier quart du second millénaire environ). Cette version diffère assez largement de la première (style, structure, théologie; on y trouve trois additions majeures). Par la suite les variantes sont plutôt d'ordre textuel.

Il existe donc des sources et différentes versions. Mais l'évolution n'est pas exactement semblable à celle qui est décrite par l'hypothèse documentaire ou par l'école de l'histoire des formes. Il n'est pas possible, entre autres, de reconstituer les «documents» antécédants à partir de la première version complète en akkadien, ni de retrouver la *Vorlage* d'une version donnée. Il est possible d'en deviner l'existence, comme a pu le faire M. Jastrow en son

temps. Et les découvertes archéologiques ont confirmé pour une bonne part ses intuitions. Cependant, elles ne provenaient pas d'abord d'une étude des procédés rédactionnels du texte, mais d'une comparaison entre l'épopée de Gilgamesh, la Bible et le folklore. Quant à la *Redaktionsgeschichte*, elle semble être particulièrement ardue lorsqu'on voit avec quelle liberté les auteurs ont pu reformuler les versions antérieures en faisant le plus souvent preuve de personnalité. Seule la comparaison de textes existants permet d'arriver à des conclusions sûres. Ces quelques brèves remarques apportent plutôt de l'eau au moulin de R.N.W. Elles devraient aussi inciter à la prudence. Et cette prudence s'impose d'autant plus que J. H. Tigay a peut-être été trop optimiste dans certaines de ses évaluations, entre autres à propos de la première version en akkadien (cf. D. O. Edzard, *Or* 56 [1987] 105-108).

Enfin, nous voudrions rompre une lance en faveur de la théologie de P malgré ce qui est dit p. 230-232. Un texte comme Ex 6,2-8 semble être l'un des seuls qui puissent prétendre à structurer presque tout le Pentateuque d'une manière systématique. Plus spécialement, c'est le seul credo qui, à notre connaissance, intègre l'épisode du Sinaï contrairement à Dt 6 et 26 (cf. Ex 6,7 et 29,45-46; et encore Ex 6,3-4 et Gn 17; 35,9-13; Ex 6,5 et 2,23-25; 6,6 et 7,4; 12,41.51). N'aurions-nous pas ici une sorte de «griffe» du ou des responsables d'une rédaction finale du Pentateuque? Ce texte relie aussi l'exode aux patriarches par le thème de l'accomplissement des promesses divines. Moïse est à la charnière de cette histoire qui est d'abord et avant tout une révélation du nom divin. Nous aurions là une tentative d'unifier des thèmes que la recherche a longtemps considérés comme indépendants (patriarches, exode, Sinaï, séjour dans le désert). L'histoire qui précède ce «credo» est structurée par les formules de *toledot* et celle qui suit par les formules d'itinéraires dans le désert (cf. N. Lohfink, «Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte», *Congress Volume Göttingen* [VTS 29; Leiden 1978] 204-205, intuition reprise et développée par E. Zenger et P. Weimar).

Par ces considérations plutôt sommaires, nous voulions souligner la valeur de cette étude qui ne manque pas de verve et la porter à l'attention des chercheurs.

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Hedwige ROUILLARD, *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22-24). La prose et les «oracles»* (Fondation Singer-Polignac; Études Bibliques, Nouvelle Série 4). 526 p. 24,5 x 17. Paris 1985. J. Gabalda et C^{ie} Editeurs. FF 400.

Concluido en junio de 1983, este estudio tuvo su origen en una «mémoire» presentada en la École Biblique de Jerusalén en 1979 sobre Num 22,21-35, y publicada ulteriormente en la *Revue Biblique* en 1980. La autora dedica su primer agradecimiento a Frère François Langlamet, profesor en la misma

École Biblique, cuya minuciosidad analítica y precisión se perciben efectivamente a lo largo del estudio.

Este estudio aventaja todos los anteriores sobre el tema porque estudia detalladamente *toda* la sección de Balaam. Otro estudio, el de W. Gross (*Bileam* [München 1974]) había hecho progresar el planteo de la cuestión. Pero no haber tenido en cuenta los oráculos sino solamente la prosa narrativa había debilitado la seguridad de sus conclusiones.

La cuidadosa comparación de las secciones del texto entre sí, y con otros textos bíblicos y extra-bíblicos hacen de esta nueva obra un valioso instrumento, al cual habrá que referirse necesariamente cada vez que se pase sobre Num 22-24. Más aún, es difícil pensar que otro estudio sobre el crecimiento del texto, con la presente metodología, pudiera agregar algo más, a menos que — imprevisiblemente — nuevos documentos extrabíblicos comparables a los de Deir Alla pudieran aparecer.

Se podría sí interpretar de modo diferente los mismos datos, como ya ha ocurrido hasta aquí sobre bases analíticas más reducidas. Pero tal interpretación no sería — verosimilmente — más definitiva ni segura.

Con esto estamos indicando el talón de Aquiles del trabajo de Mme Rouillard y de otros muchos estudios diacrónicos que procuran «reconstituir» el texto, desde el primero al último estadio de su evolución.

A los estudiosos del AT generalmente nos gustan las novelas policiales. Procurar descubrir el autor de un verso o una sección de texto tiene algo detectivesco apasionante. Pero los mismos datos se prestan a numerosas combinaciones, y al final no disponemos, como P. Poirot o Miss Marple, de una confesión del autor que nos dé la seguridad de haber propuesto una interpretación correcta.

Apoyada en argumentos de tema y vocabulario Mme Rouillard distingue un proceso de crecimiento que incluye seis momentos.

(A) Num 22,2-21; 22,36-23,26 constituirían el nivel más antiguo, «ligemente predeuteronomico» (hacia el 650). Este texto conoce el texto arameo transjordano y tiene como finalidad una «propaganda nacionalista antiprofética», haciendo de Balaam un ejemplo de fidelidad yavista (p. 484). Más precisamente, en este texto se unen un tema principal (la elección de Israel, expresada en las bendiciones de Balaam) y un tema secundario (la fidelidad de Balaam, profeta extranjero y no de corte, a la palabra divina). El nacionalismo estricto de los poemas se compensa con el universalismo implicado por la presencia de un profeta no israelita. Se pone en duda la autoridad de los «profetas oficiales» que pretenden ser los únicos depositarios de la palabra divina, y anuncian sistemáticamente el castigo para Israel, desconociendo su incondicionada elección, replanteada con todo vigor por el texto de base de Num 22-24 (p. 329-330).

(B) Num 22,22-35 (el episodio del asno de Balaam) que Mme Rouillard no trata en detalle, remitiéndose a su estudio anterior sobre el texto, es un producto y consecuencia inmediata de la reforma deuteronomística (p. 25), escrito hacia el final del profetismo pre-exílico (s. VII-VIII) con una clara intención teológica: ridiculizar este adivino menos lúcido que su asno (p. 116).

(C) Num 23,17-24,6 es una reacción de época exílica contra el episodio

del asno. Balaam, convertido oficialmente por Dt 23,5 en un adivino babilonio e investido de fidelidad yavista, es el encargado de pronunciar un oráculo a la comunidad exílica, anunciando el regreso al país maravilloso (p. 388). El exordio del tercer oráculo está imitado de 2 Sam 23,1-3.

(D) Num 24,7-19 es un conjunto ligeramente posterior a (C), tal vez inmediatamente post-exílico (p. 25). 24,7-9 es un añadido al tercer oráculo, que traiciona intereses más «dinásticos y belicosos» (p. 388). El mismo autor de vv. 7-9 es responsable de la prosa que conecta el tercer oráculo con el cuarto (vv. 10-14) y del «cuarto oráculo» (vv. 15b-19) contra Moab, y sobre todo contra Edom, acusado de haber traicionado «Jacob» (= Israel del sur) durante el asedio y caída de Jerusalén en 597 y 587 (p. 466).

(E) Num 24,20-22 (oráculo contra los amalecitas y quenitas), y

(F) Num 24,23-24 (contra Kittim, Asur y Eber) son finalmente añadidos que corresponden respectivamente tal vez al período de Esdras y Nehemías el primero, y al de Alejandro el segundo (p. 25).

Algunas de estas conclusiones confirman resultados adquiridos por la exégesis, que desde hace ya largo tiempo no se conformaba con una sumaria división del texto entre una versión yavista y una versión elohista de una misma tradición oral.

Las conclusiones son también, consideradas en su conjunto, razonables e internamente coherentes. Mme Rouillard no ha perdido por el camino ningún verso, como ocurre a algunos estudios de este tipo, ni — en cuanto he podido descubrir — ha incurrido en contradicciones.

Sin embargo, cuando se analizan en detalle las razones propuestas para algunas afirmaciones — las más novedosas —, queda un sentimiento de insatisfacción, que la autora en algún momento parecería compartir. He aquí algunos de los puntos poco convincentes:

a) La razón para poner el límite del nivel (A) en Num 23,26: «Cuando (el autor del texto) ha obtenido del relato el meollo sustancial, se detiene» (p. 329). Un corte tan abrupto parece improbable en un autor al cual Mme Rouillard atribuye con justicia condiciones de buen narrador. La antigua propuesta de ver el final del nivel de base en Num 24,14a + 25 sigue pareciendo razonable y no descartable.

b) La razón para justificar que el autor de (A) ha escrito dos oráculos, y no solamente el primero, ni tampoco el tercero, es que los dos oráculos «son complementarios y forman un todo. El primero presenta en negativo (maldecir, no maldecir) lo que el segundo propone en positivo (bendecir)» (p. 319). Más que hablar de complementariedad se debería hablar de un verdadero crecimiento de la temática, tanto de la no-maldición/bendición, como del contenido de la bendición. Pero este crecimiento alcanza no solamente el oráculo II, sino también el III. Paracería más consecuente o bien limitar el nivel (A) al primer oráculo, con conclusión en Num 23,12 (para lo cual se podría arguir como Mme Rouillard en p. 329), o bien continuar leyendo el crecimiento de ambos temas (fidelidad a JHWH del profeta pagano, bendiciones sobre Israel) hasta el final del oráculo III, con conclusión en Num 24,14a + 25, como quedaba sugerido antes.

Es verdad que la introducción del oráculo III (Num 24,3aβ-4), casi idéntica a la del oráculo IV, requiere una explicación especial. Pero ésta se puede

encontrar en el deseo de algún editor de homogeneizar los oráculos III-IV para facilitar la inserción de este último en la historia de Balaam. Por lo demás, los oráculos II-III están estrechamente ligados por el tema maldición-bendición, la imagen de los «cuernos del búfalo», la imagen del león, y el tono agresivo frente al enemigo. Si en la imagen del búfalo hay solamente repetición, en los otros tres elementos hay la suficiente diferenciación que permitiría hablar de un mismo autor («La diferencia puede ser un índice de parentesco real entre textos, mucho más que la identidad», p. 319, nota 110, un principio que Mme Rouillard emplea asiduamente).

Si por el contrario se quiere atender sobretudo a la diferenciación y suponer diferentes autores, hay que reconocer que el espíritu del oráculo I por una parte, todo él centrado en el pueblo y de carácter estrictamente positivo, y el de los oráculos II-III, con claros intereses dinásticos y polémicos son tan diferentes, que la línea divisoria debe correr entre los oráculos I de un lado, y II-III del otro.

c) El criterio de que una «servil identidad atestigua imitación» (p. 336) es una *petitio principii* por causa del «servil». Identidad de estilo y expresiones significa frecuentemente sólo identidad de autor. (Si identidad fuera signo de imitación por parte de otro autor, a Vivaldi, Bach y Mozart habría que suprimirles tantas composiciones de sus respectivos catálogos). Más bien es verdad que los autores se enamoran de sus propios motivos, expresiones, imágenes, y así, frecuentemente, los repiten.

Pero si este criterio no es suficientemente válido, se desvanecen entonces las razones para atribuir la prosa Num 23,27-24,3a a un imitador que, para incluir su oráculo III en la narración, habría compuesto con tanta fatiga el marco narrativo apoyándose en uno pre-existente (p. 340-344). Habría que hablar aquí también de la preferencia de las narraciones folklóricas, y aquellas que se presentan como tales, por el esquema ternario. Que Balaq haya tentado a Balaam para maldecir a Israel tres veces (y no solamente dos), llevándolo a tres lugares diferentes de observación, me parece como conjunto — a pesar de puntos particulares que se deberían explicar — mucho más verosímil que una «doble tentación».

Además está la dificultad de hacer verosímil que el pretendido autor del oráculo III haya querido incluir, justamente aquí en la narración de Balaam-Balaq, su propio oráculo exílico de consuelo para Israel, y que para ello haya elaborado su propia sección de prosa.

Diferente es el caso del oráculo IV, donde la ausencia de un marco narrativo adecuado delata inmediatamente un texto añadido más o menos casualmente en este lugar. Num 24,14b tiene todo el aire de una forzada transición.

Las sospechas presentadas, necesariamente sumarias, no engañan al recensente. Sería igualmente difícil para él probar su propia teoría como totalidad. No pretenden ser por tanto la solución del caso, sino más bien sugerir la improbabilidad de encontrar una solución plenamente satisfactoria, que haga justicia a todos los indicios.

Solamente tres puntos parecen hoy, y en parte gracias a este nuevo estudio, asegurados: que el nivel más antiguo del texto comprende la totalidad o parte de Num 22,1-24,14 (excluyendo la historia del asno); que la historia

del asno inteligente pertenece a un nivel diferente de texto, tal vez posterior a la sección antes indicada; que el cuarto oráculo es la parte más reciente del texto. Tal vez es verdad que la introducción del oráculo III pertenece al autor del oráculo IV.

La única posibilidad para una ulterior clarificación del problema parece residir no en un nuevo análisis *literarkritisch* ni en una renovada comparación de expresiones, sino en una reflexión pragmalingüística, que ciertamente no será simple. Una mayor precisión en cuanto al destinatario de cada sección del texto, y consiguientemente en cuanto a su finalidad, podría traer luz sobre la cuestión.

La doble finalidad del texto de base, frecuentemente presentada (elogio de Israel, polémica sobre el profetismo, cfr. p. 329-330) sugieren la imagen de un monstruo de dos cabezas. Hablar de un denominador común a ambos «temas» — la inmutabilidad de la palabra divina — puede ser un buen punto de partida para progresar en la comprensión del texto.

A Mme Rouillard hay que agradecer un estudio que clarifica algunos puntos (incluyendo su discusión de términos habitualmente descuidados, como *pstôr*) y proporciona abundante materia de discusión e hipótesis para los puntos aún discutibles.

El libro está escrito con buen gusto, y en cuanto el tema lo permite, se lee con agrado. Menos feliz es la excesiva subdivisión del texto por medio de letras, números, signos, caracteres tipográficos diferentes (cuento doce solamente en la cubierta del libro!) y márgenes diversos, que más bien cansan la vista que clarifican el discurso.

Se han deslizado algunos errores tipográficos. El más importante es el de p. 294, donde la composición ha comido la mitad izquierda de las palabras de la primera columna. Otras pequeñas correcciones que se deben introducir son: p. 25, línea 13: 22,36-23,1-26 debería ser probablemente 22,36-23,26; p. 55, línea 20, leer Nb 22,5b et 11a; p. 211 línea 3, leer v. 7bαβ; p. 352, b) marginal debería ser cursiva; p. 353, c) marginal debe ir en línea con b); p. 416, nota 3, suprimir *Miscellanea Biblica*; p. 425, nota 22, leer Gods por Golds; p. 525, línea 9, leer Nb 24,15b en lugar de Nb 24,25b.

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John N. OSWALT, *The Book of Isaiah. Chapters 1-39* (The New International Commentary on the Old Testament). xi-746 p. 22,3×15. Grand Rapids, MI 1986. William B. Eerdmans. UK £ 26.60.

It will not come as a surprise to readers of this commentary on Isaiah 1-39 that its author adopts a conservative approach on major literary and historical questions, since the series in which it is included avowedly sets out

to achieve this. What does occasion surprise, however, is the rigidity with which such a conservative stance is maintained and the extremes of interpretation to which the author moves in order to uphold a few basic assumptions. To this extent the pattern of interpretation adopted, for all its length and familiarity with other contemporary works of scholarship, can hardly be termed exegesis in any normal understanding of the term. These basic assumptions are that the book in its present form is a unity and that this unity must be taken fully into account. The second assumption is that it is characteristic of prophecy to make predictions. So the introductory section on pages 46-49 concerning "The Significance of Prediction" must be read, since the conclusions arrived at here, in considerable brevity, control the observations that subsequently appear. The ability of the prophets to predict future events, often in great detail and for long periods of time, is asserted to be fundamental. This is then allied with the claim that: "Today, the majority of interpreters would resolutely deny to the prophets any more specific predictions. Whenever such predictions appear in the prophetic literature scholars invariably ascribe them to a secondary author unless the original author is judged to have lived long enough to have written the material after the fact" (47).

On the basis of these prior assumptions, which can only be regarded as a caricature of most contemporary scholarship, two conclusions are drawn. The first of these is that the unity of the book must imply unity of authorship. The second is that nothing then hinders the view that all sixty-six chapters of the book could have stemmed from the eighth-century Isaiah of Jerusalem. All that follows is then controlled by these two convictions. Moreover the reader is already alerted to the fact that the second volume, planned to deal with chapters 40-66, will also be interpreted on the same assumptions. Some anticipation of this already appears in the brief outline of the understanding of the "Servant" passages from 40-55 on pages 49-51.

It must be admitted that, whatever his own conclusions regarding the nature of biblical prophecy, Oswalt does seek to give the reader a fair understanding of what contemporary scholarship has been saying about Isaiah, so that a very full bibliographical annotation is made. It is in the detail of specific passages that the author's own approach comes to the fore. A typical instance is to be found in relation to Isa 2,1-5. The parallel passage in Mic 4,1-3 is noted and so an origin from either Micah, or Isaiah, in the eighth century, is asserted. Preference is given for the priority of Micah, although this is not insisted upon, and the idea that a later author could have been responsible is ruled out (and even ridiculed). This is then followed up with a heavily Christological interpretation: "In its more proximate sense it can relate to the Church age when the nations stream to Zion to learn the ways of her God through his incarnation in Christ" (116). Little effort is in fact made to seek any basis of interpretation in Micah's, or Isaiah's, own situation.

Rather different emphases come to the fore in regard to the call-narrative of Isa 6, where some attention to its redactional setting is considered. On this point Oswalt insists that the chapter forms the right and necessary conclusion to chapters 1-5: "Without the lived-out truth which ch. 6 presents,

chs. 1-5 present an irreconcilable contradiction. This could well be the reason, then, why an inaugural vision is placed six chapters into the book it inaugurates" (175).

In some ways a more instructive instance of the author's method is to be found in his extensive and informative treatment of the Immanuel passage in Isa 7,14. Here, in spite of an initial drawing of attention to the importance of the passage in a Christological setting, Oswalt engages fully in the current debate concerning what the passage meant in its Isaianic context. He recognizes that the Hebrew term *'almâ* refers to a young woman of marriageable age, not necessarily a virgin. He also fully notes the fact that the promise of the Immanuel child is the first of a sequence of three sign-names given to children. Since the birth of the child is to be a sign of the deliverance that will thereby be assured to Ahaz, the birth must have been expected in the near future. In the end Oswalt leaves the issue in a very open and uncertain state: "The enigmatic nature of the prophecy argues against the idea that the primary fulfillment was intended to occur in Ahaz's time, then to be ingeniously applied later to Christ. But to suppose that the sign did not occur in any sense until 725 years after the fact flies in the face of the plain sense of the text" (208). The point is well worth citing at some length, since it highlights the tensions and incongruities which are not properly resolved by Oswalt's exegesis. Having insisted that prophecy *could* have a distant and remote fulfillment, even centuries after the prophet had spoken it, Oswalt sees very well that such cannot fit the case here. Yet he is equally unhappy to discard altogether the traditional Christological significance of the passage, so the reader is left to make up his or her own mind. All of this simply indicates a failure to adopt any very clear and consistent method of exegesis. Far too much weight is placed upon traditional expectations concerning what the text should mean, than upon careful exegesis from within the text itself. The result can only be confusing to the reader and unhelpful to other scholars. If Oswalt is very strong on knowing what he believes, he is contrastingly very unwilling to believe what he knows. So it is that he strives to work with an understanding of prophecy that is highly transcendental in its assumptions concerning the manner of divine revelation, appropriate to an age when little effort was made by scholars to read prophecy in the light of its historical setting. Oswalt, however, fully recognizes that the whole trend of research during the past two centuries has been dominated by the awareness that the prophet spoke as a figure of his times and addressed the people of his own age. Certainly prophets did venture to mention very categorically and boldly the future actions that God would take towards his people. In this sense they foretold the future, even predicting how events would unfold. Yet they neither accepted a deterministic view of history, nor surrendered to the inevitable fatalism that such would entail.

Since the aim of the commentary series is, in part at least, to interpret the book in the light of contemporary scholarship, even though Oswalt finds himself in general disagreement with this, much of the exegesis does relate to explaining the historical setting of the prophecies. So the celebrated royal prophecy of Isa 9,1-6 is dealt with in the setting of the Syro-Ephraimite war, but a firm insistence is made that the reference is to the coming birth of the

Messiah ("This is clearly an eschatological figure, the Messiah" [245]). No explanation is offered as to why the prophecy was given over seven hundred years in advance of its fulfilment, except that the prophet has resorted here to an eschatological frame of reference.

In some respects there is, from the point of view of the Christian exegete, much that will be worth pondering on. Oswalt is well aware of the contemporary interest in seeking to understand the book as a whole, and in trying to come to terms with the fact that, in the history of interpretation, many important passages have been understood to possess a meaning far removed from any that could have been applicable to the prophet's own circumstances. In trying to match the demands of genuine exegesis with these more complex hermeneutical structures, Oswalt resorts to a lot of speculation and to a very eclectic and unsystematised approach. Assumptions about unity of authorship are given priority over unity of message and no place is given to the way in which later editors and scribes re-read and re-interpreted prophecies in an effort to elicit from them a fuller meaning. The serious reader who wishes to come to grips with the inconsistencies and incongruities of this attempt to combine a traditional Christian understanding of prophecy with modern historico-critical approaches may well feel impelled to go back to the debate of the early eighteenth century. The way in which T. Sherlock's understanding of a double meaning in prophecy was developed to counter the arguments of A. Collins and others remains relevant to Oswalt's efforts to maintain a clear method of interpretation. Oswalt fully and rightly opposes such attempts to abandon the idea that the text has a clear and single meaning. In doing so, however, he is far too often open to the objection that he has merely left irreconcilable positions in juxtaposition with each other, without adequately satisfying the demands of a serious historical exegesis of the text.

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Gösta W. AHLSTRÖM, *Who Were the Israelites?* 134 S. Winona Lake, IN 1986. Eisenbrauns.

Bereits in seinem knappen Vorwort nennt der Verf. präzise seine Fragestellung (Ursprung und Geschichte des Namens *Israel*) und seine Hypothese (der Name habe ursprünglich ein *Territorium* bezeichnet [und der dort wohnenden Bevölkerung einen Namen gegeben], dann seit Saul das entsprechende Königreich und schließlich nur noch die Gruppierung der JHWH-Verehrer im Anschluß an Esras Tora, und so sei "Israel" auch zum Synonym für Judentum geworden). Die genannten drei Verwendungsweisen des Namens Israel seien auch in den biblischen Schriften zu beobachten. Es ist leicht zu erken-

nen, daß ein wichtiges Problem der Hypothese in ihrem ersten Teil (s.u. zu Kap. 4) liegt, das Übrige dürfte einen heute in der Forschung weithin geteilten Konsens wiedergeben bzw. argumentativ verstärken.

In einer kurzen "Introduction" (1-9) ordnet der Verf. sein Werk in die neuere Diskussion zum nichtstaatlichen Israel mit Verweisen auf wichtigere Literatur ein. Das 2. Kap. "Population Groups and Theories" (11-24) und das 3. Kap. "Some Evidence from Archaeology" (25-36) begründen nochmals die schon früher vom Verf. vertretene These, daß zur Erklärung der Entstehung Israels weder eine Invasion von außerhalb Kanaans anzunehmen noch der Theorie eines Bauernaufstandes große Wahrscheinlichkeit zuzubilligen sei. Nach einer Durchsicht neuerer Grabungsergebnisse kommt der Verf. im Unterschied zu vielen anderen Deutungen zu dem Schluß, daß im 12. Jh. v.C. keine "typisch israelitische" materielle Kultur im Unterschied zu einer "kanaanäischen" erweisbar sei, auch die Neusiedler im Bergland seien am ehesten als Pioniere (aus der kanaanäischen Bevölkerung heraus) zu kennzeichnen (36).

Im nun folgenden Kap. 4 "The Territory of Israel" (37-43) trägt der Verf. seine bereits in *JNES* 1985 veröffentlichte These vor, aus der Siegesstele des Merneptah lasse sich zeigen, daß Israel dort Territoriumsname für das kanaanäische Bergland sei. Daß der Schlußabschnitt der Stele eine irgendwie systematische Komposition bildet, ist kaum strittig; daß der Verf. aber für seinen Strukturvorschlag (Ringkomposition) die Tehenu/Libyer unbeachtet läßt und nur so zu seinen Entsprechungen (complementary subdivisions) Hatti≈Kharu und Kanaan≈Israel kommt, läßt diesen wenig überzeugend erscheinen. Demgegenüber bleibt die folgende Deutung wesentlich plausibler: Innerhalb des äußeren Ringes (Fürsten+Neunbogen / alle Länder+jeder Umherziehende) werden zunächst zwei große Völker genannt (die gerade besiegten Libyer / das Hattireich), dann, von den beiden Bezeichnungen für Palästina umrahmt (Kanaan / Kharu), die auch geographisch dazwischenliegenden drei Städtenamen, denen ein mit einem doppelten Prädikat versehener Name gegenübersteht (Aschkelon+Geser+Jenoam / Israel). Es ergibt sich also eher die Struktur: AA - B/B¹ - C* - D^{a,b,c}/D¹⁺⁺ - C^{1*} - AA¹ vor dem Königsnamen. Nicht als Entsprechung zu Kanaan, wohl aber zu den drei Städtenamen, könnte "Israel" hier für das mittelpalästinische Bergland und seine Bevölkerung stehen; daß Israel jedoch ursprünglich eine Territoriums- bzw. Landschaftsbezeichnung gewesen sei, läßt sich aus dem Text der Stele nicht folgern (vgl. inzwischen zu "Israel": R. Albertz, in: *TRE* XVI [1987] 369-379).

Beim 5. Kap. "The Role of the Sea: Mythological Historiography" (45-55) bedürfte es eingehender Auseinandersetzung, weshalb die Darlegungen trotz vieler wichtiger Feststellungen im ganzen nicht recht befriedigen. Im 6. Kap. "The Peoples of the Territory Israel" (57-83) stellt der Verf. eine Fülle von inner- und außeraltestamentlichen Spuren und Hinweisen zusammen, die die perspektivische Systematisierung der Vergangenheit, wie sie in vielen Büchern des AT geschieht, aufbrechen und relativieren. Jedoch veranlaßte einerseits sein Anliegen, in Kanaan die Kontinuität von der Späten Bronze zur Eisenzeit in Bevölkerung und materieller und religiöser Kultur hervorzuheben (83), den Verf., der Suche in der Zeit der nichtstaatlichen Existenz der Vorfahren Israels und Judas nach Anhaltspunkten für Eigen- und Besonder-

heiten, auf die in der staatlichen und dann in der Exilszeit und später immer wieder und weiterinterpretierend zurückgegriffen wurde, wenig Interesse entgegenzubringen. Andererseits scheint er anzunehmen, daß erst durch die Staatwerdung unter Saul und besonders David eine gesellschaftliche und politische Einheit der verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen entsteht, deren Gemeinsamkeit vorher außer in der kanaanäischen Kultur und Religion nur im Namen des von ihnen bewohnten Territoriums "Israel" (s. dazu oben) lag.

In den abschließenden Kapiteln "7. Israel: A National Name" (85-99) und "8. Israel: An Ideological Term" (101-118) zeigt die letztgenannte Annahme des Verf. ihre Konsequenzen z.B. darin, daß der Saul-/David-/Salomozeit für die JHWH-Religion eine weit über die Quellen hinausgehende Bedeutung zugeschrieben wird (92f. 101f.). Die Darstellung Esras und seiner Wirkung bedürfte eingehender Diskussion. Wie immer in diesem Werk sind die vom Verf. vorgetragenen archäologischen und textlichen Hinweise auch von dem zu berücksichtigen, der zu anderen Hypothesen und Folgerungen gelangt. Indices der zitierten Autoren (119-123), zu Sachen (124-129) und Stellen (130-134) schließen das Buch ab.

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Manfred CLAUSS, *Geschichte Israels*. Von der Frühzeit bis zur Zerstörung Jerusalems (587 v.Chr.). 238 S. München 1986. C. H. Beck.

Auf der Suche nach einer auch für Studenten preislich erschwinglichen neueren deutschsprachigen *Geschichte Israels* wird man zunächst gern nach diesem durch Umschlaggestaltung, Umfang und angenehm lesbaren Druck einladenden Band greifen. Sieben gut gezeichnete Karten und 19 Abbildungen aus wissenschaftlichen Veröffentlichungen veranschaulichen die Ausführungen. Der Einbandtext kündigt "eine Darstellung des Alten Israel, in der die Schilderung der Gesellschaft und der wirtschaftlichen und religiösen Entwicklung einen ebenso breiten Raum einnimmt wie die der politischen Ereignisse, mithin eine umfassende Darstellung von etwa 2000 v.Chr. bis zum Untergang der Monarchien Israel 721 und Juda 587 v.Chr." an. Daß hier nicht ein Alttestamentler, sondern ein Althistoriker für dieses so anspruchsvolle Programm als verantwortlich zeichnet, regt zu der Erwartung an, daß die zahlreichen archäologischen Forschungen in Syrien-Palästina während der letzten Jahrzehnte unter Einbeziehung des inzwischen bekanntgewordenen Inschriftenmaterials und die neueren ethno-soziologischen Beobachtungen und Hypothesen zusammen mit einer historisch-kritischen Auswertung von dazu geeigneten Texten des AT hier zu einer die Einzeldisziplinen übergreifenden und als solche zu begrüßenden Synthese zusammengefaßt würden.

Leider führt jedoch die Lektüre der vorliegenden Arbeit zu einer sich

stetig steigenden Enttäuschung der geweckten Erwartungen. Der Verf. bleibt im Grunde bei einer Paraphrase einiger alttestamentlicher Erzählungen und innerhalb des von diesen vorgezeichneten Geschichtsrahmens, die er durch Zitate aus den leicht zugänglichen Textzusammenstellungen TGI, ANET und TUAT ergänzt. Ungeachtet der Forschungsdiskussionen der letzten Jahrzehnte geht er von inzwischen als unwahrscheinlich erwiesenen Hypothesen aus, als ob es allgemein anerkannte Tatsachen wären. Die Darstellung verfällt gelegentlich in Zeitungsstil, besonders dort, wo halbrichtige Behauptungen und nichtbegründete Vermutungen, die aber nicht als solche gekennzeichnet werden, Lücken in der Quellenlage überbrücken sollen. Die am Ende zusammengestellte Auswahlbibliographie läßt wichtige Veröffentlichungen der letzten Jahre unerwähnt, aber auch die dort genannten Werke scheinen nicht alle sorgfältig und kritisch benutzt worden zu sein. Zur Veranschaulichung der Bedenken des Rez. im folgenden beispielhaft einige Hinweise.

Am Ende seiner "Einleitung — Raum, Zeugnisse, Chronologie" beschreibt der Verf. seine das ganze Buch durchziehende eigensprachliche Verwendung der Begriffe *Israel* (nur für den Staat Israel, das sog. Nordreich) und *Hebräer* (für "die Angehörigen der Stämme, die zusammen mit den Kanaanäern die Gesamtbevölkerung der beiden Monarchien Juda und Israel bildeten") — dabei übergeht er die Problematik dieser nicht begründeten und irreführenden Umdefinition sowohl des außerbiblischen epigraphischen wie des alttestamentlichen wesentlich komplexeren Sprachgebrauchs kommentarlos (15). Für die Auskünfte des Verf., in Syrien-Palästina seien nach der Hyksoszeit "die Ägypter als Befreier begrüßt" worden (17), erführe man gern die Belegtexte ebenso wie für die vor/während der Zeit Sethos' I. "in Palästina eingesickerten Wüstenvölker" (18) oder dafür, daß in der ägyptischen Provinz Palästina die Unterschicht durch "die große Masse der Städter und die nichtseßhafte Bevölkerung" gebildet wurde (19). Ohne ein Zeugnis dafür anführen zu können, behauptet der Verf.: "In einer zweiten Wanderungswelle, fast gleichzeitig mit (der) West-Ost-Eroberung der Seevölker, überschwemmten Aramäer, Semiten aus der arabisch-syrischen Wüste, die Kulturländer von der Binnenseite her. . ." (20f.). In den folgenden Abschnitten (*Ursprünge der Hebräer* [a. Nomadenleben, b. Hebräer in Ägypten — 'Auszug'], *Landnahme, Helden-Herrscher-Richter* und *Leben in vorstaatlicher Zeit*) ist die Nichtzuerkennung der internationalen Diskussion während der letzten Jahrzehnte unverständlich: Der Fachmann ärgert sich, und der Anfänger wird irreführt. (Vgl. zu mehreren der an dieser Stelle zu behandelnden Fragen jetzt z.B. N.P. Lemche, *Early Israel. Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before the Monarchy* [VTS 37; Leiden 1985]).

Auch in den Kapiteln III.-VI. über die Königreiche Juda und Israel gelangt der Verf. kaum über eine mit nicht immer glücklichen Vermutungen ausgeschmückte Nacherzählung von AT-Texten hinaus. Der Unterschied zwischen Kanaanäern und "Hebräern" wird an vielen Stellen des Buches zwar immer wieder als wesentlich behauptet, aber nie präzise begründet und geklärt. Ähnliches ist zu Kap. VII "Struktur der hebräischen Monarchien" (147-202) mit seinen an sich vielversprechenden Abschnitten *König-Hof-Beamtenapparat, Heerwesen, Wirtschaft-Handel-Finzen. Gesellschaft-Sozialgefüge, Recht-Justiz, Wissenschaft-Geschichtsschreibung, Religion-Kultus* zu sa-

gen: Wo der Verf. eine schlichte Nachzeichnung von Äußerungen im AT verläßt, vermißt man überprüfbare Begründungen.

Auf der ausführlichen "Zeittafel" (207-211) findet man ohne weitere Kennzeichnungen, um welche Art von Ereignissen oder Vorgängen oder Hypothesen es sich handelt, z.B. "ab 2000: Entstehung der kanaanäischen Kultur", "1457: Sieg Thutmosis III. bei Megiddo", "1300-1100: Landnahme der Hebräer" oder "875-853 Ahab von Israel. Religiöse Polarisierung in Israel nimmt zu. Baal-Anhänger von dem Propheten Elia hingeschlachtet".

Mit einem Abbildungsverzeichnis, einer der Kapitelfolge entsprechend thematisch angeordneten Bibliographie (213-223; s. dazu oben) und einem (Sach- und Begriffs-)Register (224-238) schließt das Werk.

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Novum Testamentum

Darrell L. BOCK, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern. Lucan Old Testament Christology* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 12). 413 p. 21,5 × 14. Sheffield: 1987. JSOT Press. £10.50/\$15.95 (Pbk); £25.00/\$37.50 (Cloth).

This vigorously written study examines "key passages in which Luke uses the OT to develop christology, the key area of Luke's OT usage..." (p. 47). The hermeneutical method which Luke uses is best described as "proclamation from prophecy and pattern" (cf. the title) rather than "proof from prophecy" or a denial altogether of the "presence of a promise-fulfilment motive" (pp. 278-279).

Bock contends that his book makes the following contributions to Lucan studies: 1) Luke "consciously takes the reader from seeing Jesus as the regal Messiah-Servant to seeing him as Lord of all"; 2) the "conceptual" arguments present in Luke-Acts are independent of any given text form of the Old Testament — the Hebrew text is as likely a source as the Septuagint; 3) Luke's method is "proclamation from prophecy and pattern" (cf. above); 4) M. Rese's study, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas* (1969) has been "challenged in detail"; 5) Luke's Old Testament Christological portrayal of Jesus "is designed to calm any doubts that may have existed in the church about either Jesus' position in the plan of God or his offering of God's salvation to all men" (pp. 278-279).

There is no doubt that Bock's book is an important contribution to Lucan studies. The detailed analyses of individual passages which go on for page after page (unfortunately the footnotes are at the end of the book, a fact which complicates the reading) are often shrewd and illuminating and make

the treatment of many texts worth consulting in itself, apart from the consideration of the general thesis. The negative side of this virtue is that the general thesis doesn't emerge as clearly or as decisively as it perhaps could have if the book had been written from a somewhat different perspective.

Bock deliberately eschews modern hermeneutical terms (cf. pp. 380-381, n. 11) "because we felt that a descriptive explanation of what is taking place is a better place to begin this discussion than a modern hermeneutical grid". Fair enough: one doesn't have to read the book with a lexicon of linguistic jargon at hand. But the innocent-sounding "descriptive explanation" is really a collection of common-sense hermeneutical terms constituting a home-made grid of Bock's devising. It would have made more sense to have used Luke's own terms for his Old Testament probings as much as possible and as a basis for what needed to be supplied. This somewhat different perspective would have enabled Bock to make his point more clearly and more decisively. For an indication of what Luke's own terms were one should consult, for example, B.-J. Koet, "Some Traces of a Semantic Field of Interpretation in Luke 24,13-25", *Bijdragen* 46 (1985) 58-73. Bock notes explicitly that he has not studied Luke 24,44-47 "because it only summarizes what Luke has done with the OT" (p. 341, n. 233). But Bock fails to see that by using Luke's terms he can facilitate entrance into Luke's hermeneutical grid, which is what the book is all about (cf. *CBQ* 49 [1987] 133-134).

Bock doesn't fail to appeal to New Testament concepts entirely (cf. his presentation of Luke's hermeneutic on pp. 49-52, and especially his stress on the importance of Jewish exegetical techniques on pp. 271-272), but he doesn't weave them into his work nearly as much as he could have. He seems oddly wary of getting involved in the whole question of the legitimacy of applying findings from the targums and rabbinic studies to the New Testament even though he does so (e.g., p. 301, n. 72; p. 374, n. 100). In at least one text, Luke 20,41-44, it would have helped his analysis to have at least alluded to *gezerah shawah* as a plausible reason why Matthew and Mark have ὑποκάτω whereas Luke has ὑποπόδιον (cf. p. 330, n. 147 and W. O. Walker, Jr., *JBL* 91 [1972] 488, n. 31).

In his discussion of Luke 1,26-38 Bock is uncertain of the influence of Isa 7,14 (cf. pp. 296-297, n. 37). One element in the consideration of this complicated question is the use of τίκτω, and in this regard the articles of A. Vincent Cernuda (*Bib* 55 [1974] 260-264, 408-417) could profitably have been cited. The use of τίκτω in a technical sense with allusion to a virgin birth, together with the word παρθένος at Luke 1,27, weighs heavily in favor of such an influence (cf. Vincent Cernuda, *ibid.*, p. 145).

At p. 375, n. 109, and p. 376, n. 118, Bock says that the Epistle to the Hebrews never speaks unmistakably of Christ's resurrection. This assertion is difficult to reconcile with Heb 13,20 (cf. Rom 10,7). The point is of some consequence for at stake is the possibility that Ps 2,7 can be an allusion to the resurrection at Acts 13,33. If Bock has some special insight into Heb 13,20 it would be useful if he could share it with those who follow what seems to be the obvious meaning of the verse.

One of the more intriguing of Bock's statements occurs at the very end of his massive work:

A question can be raised whether Luke's christology can be fully revealed by the use of his OT christology. We believe the fundamental lines of its presentation can be fully revealed since (1) ultimately all the key christological terms in Luke-Acts receive definition from the OT and (2) all the major titles at least have been traced for the nature of their fuller Lucan usage by our study. We believe that nothing decisive against our thesis has emerged in the consideration of these broader christological usages. The case of Jesus' unique sonship to the Father is a prime example of this situation. Since we have not ignored the broader christological picture, we believe we can speak about Luke's basic christological emphasis moving from Messiah-Servant to Lord (p. 380, n. 8).

The point is worth reflecting on, for as Bock himself so aptly says, "if a prophetic declaration is all there was to Jesus' teaching, one wonders what all the fuss over him was about" (p. 358, n. 123). Bock maintains that the presentation of Jesus' performing divine tasks in the first part of Acts (cf. Acts 7,56.58-59; 10,36.43) suggests that he is "nothing less than divine" (p. 259). Once this point has been made, Luke ceases to use the Old Testament to illustrate who Jesus is. This explains why there are no more uses of Old Testament texts in a Christological sense in Acts after Chapter 13 (cf. pp. 277-278). The reviewer tends to agree with Bock's analysis, but would have wished for a clearer presentation of the role of the pre-resurrection Jesus and of his resurrection from the dead in helping Luke see Jesus thus patterned and prophesied in the Old Testament. Luke is pre-eminently the gospel of witness to the risen Jesus among the Synoptics, and it would have helped to tie this aspect in more explicitly.

This book is the occasion for noting the arrival of an exegete of considerable analytical power. In *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern* Bock has achieved much. But much remains to be done. His remarks about historicity in Luke, for example (cf. p. 366, n. 12), indicate that he has another book or two up his sleeve. If it attains the quality of his present work (originally a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Aberdeen in 1982) they will be well worth reading.

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Agnès GUEURET, *La mise en discours. Recherches sémiotiques à propos de l'Evangile de Luc*. 335 p. Paris 1987. Le Cerf. FF 139,—.

A.G. s'était déjà signalée à l'attention des sémioticiens, mais aussi des spécialistes de Lc, par une première étude sur Lc 1-2 (*L'engendrement d'un récit* [LD 113; Paris 1983] 319 p.). Suivant pas à pas les modèles proposés par A.-J. Greimas, elle avait alors analysé la composante *narrative* de Lc 1-2, c'est-à-dire — empruntons ici le vocabulaire du théâtre — les relations exis-

tant entre personnages: mise en intrigue et résolution des conflits, etc. Elle en arrivait à la conclusion que le texte lucanien était un «récit de sanction», autrement dit un récit où la reconnaissance du héros (Jésus) est l'élément dominant; ceci se vérifie pour un grand nombre de péripécies — qui finissent par une acclamation, une louange, un silence admiratif ou craintif, etc. — et pour l'ensemble de l'évangile.

Cette fois, en parcourant tout l'évangile de Luc, A.G. en a étudié la composante *discursive*. Que nous faut-il entendre par composante *discursive*? Quelque chose comme l'analyse thématique, appliquée surtout à l'espace, au temps, et aux acteurs (comment ils sont nommés et par qui: par le narrateur, par eux-mêmes ou d'autres, amis/ennemis); une place importante est ainsi faite à ce qu'en exégèse on appelle la christologie (l'A. étudie surtout la façon dont Jésus est nommé tout au long de l'évangile: fils de Dieu, Christ, fils de l'homme, etc). Si la terminologie du livre d'A.G. n'était aussi compliquée et dépendante des modes de la sémiotique greimasienne, l'exégète moyen se sentirait presque à l'aise avec ce type d'approche, somme toute connue depuis le développement de la «critique de la rédaction» (Conzelmann en fut le pionnier pour Luc, mais n'a certainement pas été consulté par A.G.). Et tel est bien le paradoxe que cette étude manifeste: souvent à leur insu — je parle d'A.G., pas de P. Geoltrain, son directeur de thèse, très au fait de l'histoire de l'exégèse — les sémioticiens retrouvent, avec quelque retard, une dimension textuelle (la thématique) par eux négligée.

Certes, Greimas donne au mot «thématique» une acception à la fois plus large et plus précise que la critique littéraire traditionnelle. A partir des lieux, des notations temporelles, de la façon dont les acteurs sont nommés (niveau dit iconique), le sémioticien va repérer des parcours, c'est-à-dire des transformations, des oppositions et des corrélations (niveaux figuratif et thématique), par où les valeurs sous-jacentes se donneront à lire (niveau axiologique). Néanmoins, nombre d'exégètes, sémioticiens sans le savoir, avaient déjà bricolé des distinctions, qui pour n'être pas équivalentes, fonctionnaient relativement bien.

A vrai dire, si le champ de l'analyse d'A.G. recouvre en gros celui de la «critique de la rédaction», la méthode met en valeur des phénomènes textuels que trop d'exégètes négligent encore. Comme le titre de l'ouvrage l'indique, il s'agit d'observer comment s'opère la *mise en discours*, autrement dit comment, où, quand et par qui les différents énoncés sont pris en charge: ainsi, les titres de «fils de Dieu», «Christ» ou «fils de l'homme», etc., sont-ils toujours/souvent/parfois/jamais donnés à Jésus par le narrateur, Jésus lui-même, les démons, les anges, Dieu, les disciples, les foules? S'agit-il ou non d'affirmations de reconnaissance? A quels moments certains titres ne sont-ils plus attribués? Autant de questions soulevées au cours des analyses et auxquelles A.G. répond avec finesse.

Le livre s'articule autour de trois pôles: les acteurs, les lieux et les temps (acteurs spatialisés et temporalisés; temps actorialisés et spatialisés; lieux actorialisés et temporalisés — notons encore les connotations théâtrales évidentes). Inutile d'examiner ici la différence entre «acteur» (terme utilisé par les sémioticiens) et «personnage» (terme utilisé en critique littéraire classique), dans la mesure où A.G. ne parle en fait que des acteurs «anthropomorphes»

(ce qui équivaut pratiquement à «personnages»). L'A. commence par s'interroger sur la délimitation des séquences à étudier, en utilisant comme critères les transformations spatiales, temporelles et figuratives: procédures bien connues des exégètes. Si ces critères sont tout à fait légitimes, eu égard à l'analyse discursive telle que les sémioticiens la pratiquent et aux exigences de l'exégèse, on peut toutefois se demander s'ils sont suffisants: le découpage gagnerait à être fait aussi à l'aide des modèles littéraires (rhétoriques et autres) utilisés par Luc comme les grands écrivains de son époque. Certains sémioticiens — mais A.G. n'encourt pas ce reproche — refusent a priori ce genre d'indice, parce qu'il s'agirait seulement d'une *forme de l'expression*; ils ont tort: une étude un tant soit peu attentive de ces modèles littéraires montre qu'ils ne sont en rien extérieurs au message.

De ce livre dense, relevons quelques points importants.

1° Les acteurs. Jésus est évidemment le plus étudié, et A.G. montre que la façon dont les titres sont répartis tout au long de l'évangile n'a rien d'accidentel. La désignation de l'origine divine, prise en charge par les anges (Lc 1-2), la voix céleste (Lc 3,22; 9,35) les démons (8,28), implicitement par le narrateur (Lc 3,23), négativement et/ou interrogativement par les adversaires (22,70), n'est pas reprise par Jésus, qui se désigne comme «fils de l'homme», afin que son parcours, au niveau du dire et du faire, permette de vérifier la pertinence de l'origine (divine) et de la fonction (Christ). C'est seulement au terme, après les événements du calvaire — et à la fin du livre d'A.G. (cf. surtout les p. 284-292) —, que Jésus se désignera lui-même comme Christ devant ses disciples. Le titre devient alors chargé de toute l'histoire passée, constituée par la vie de Jésus mais aussi par ce qui la précédait et s'indique comme mémoire (toute l'Écriture). On lira également quelques belles pages (malheureusement disséminées tout au long du livre sans être assez reprises en fin de parcours, p. 292-298), sur l'acteur collectif «disciples».

2° Les temps. L'A. retient les notations «aujourd'hui» et «le troisième jour», qui reviennent au long de l'évangile. Ses analyses s'élargissent et en arrivent à repérer toute une conception de l'histoire qui se dessine, surtout en Lc 24 (p. 100-230).

3° Les lieux. A.G. s'intéresse surtout à la façon dont la désignation de Jérusalem se fait en Lc. Elle montre bien comment à partir du moment où Jésus arrive vers le lieu de son «exode», le narrateur glisse vers d'autres appellations («la ville», «le temple»; cf. p. 233-246 et 270-275), notant au passage que Jésus va parallèlement anthropomorphiser ce lieu (il s'adresse à la ville en «tu», «vous»). La signification du phénomène est soulignée. Mais nous allons y revenir.

Si l'exégète reste impressionné par la subtilité des analyses, il a tout de même quelques remarques à faire. Notons seulement les bévues décisives pour l'interprétation.

— p. 59, à propos de Lc 4,16-30, A.G. dit que Jésus *lit*. En réalité, le narrateur dit seulement qu'il se leva «pour lire», mais se garde bien d'ajouter qu'il lit; et cela est déterminant pour l'interprétation de l'épisode: la parole de Jésus n'est pas celle d'un *lecteur*, mais d'un prophète. Le narrateur mentionne que Jésus ouvre la bouche seulement à partir du v. 21 («il *commença* à leur dire...»): ici commence le discours prophétique et proleptique de Jésus!

- p. 60, Lc 4,16 est traduit «Nazara où il avait été *élevé*» et suivi de réflexions sur l'opposition haut/bas. Erreur, car le grec *tethrammenos* (parfait passif de *trephô*, «nourrir») n'autorise pas pareille interprétation.

- p. 61 «La mention de Capharnaüm dans le discours de Jésus à Nazara laisse entendre que des choses se sont déjà passées dans cette ville. Ceci a pour effet de poser Capharnaüm comme englobant spatialement et temporellement et de laisser prévoir *une certaine similitude dans les difficultés de transmission du savoir*» (je souligne). Où est-il parlé de difficultés dans la réception de l'enseignement de Jésus à Capharnaüm en Lc 4?

- p. 80, un tableau met en parallèle des événements de Nazara et Capharnaüm; on y trouve, entre autres, les deux situations suivantes:

Jésus s'assied pour
se mettre à parler.

la belle-mère se lève et
se met à les servir.

Et A.G. de voir une substitution s'effectuer, de Jésus à la femme. Mais cette substitution, basée sur l'inchoatif «se mettre à», ne peut se recommander du grec: en 4,21 on lit *èrxato* («se mit à» ou «commença à») alors qu'en 4,39 l'imparfait *dièkonei* indique seulement la continuité («et aussitôt, s'étant levée, elle les servait»).

- plusieurs fois A.G. note que Jésus entre à Jérusalem, que les scènes de la passion s'y déroulent, que le tombeau s'y trouve, que le temple en est le centre (p. 168-169; 179; 202; 241). Où Luc dit-il en réalité que Jésus entre à Jérusalem? Silence des plus intéressants: un coup d'œil sur la littérature exégétique aurait évité à A.G. des erreurs d'interprétation qui grèvent assez lourdement toute la section sur les toponymes. C'est à *dessein* que Luc évite de dire (prise en charge énonciative) que Jésus entre dans la ville/Jérusalem.

- p. 186 (voir également p. 193), à propos de l'épisode dit «d'Emmaüs», l'A. note: «la *présence* accompagne les yeux aveugles qui ne savent pas. L'*absence* permet le retour à la connaissance de ce dont la présence est le signe...». Malheureusement, toute l'habileté du narrateur en Lc 24,13-35 est de montrer qu'il n'y a pas absence et qu'il faut désormais distinguer entre invisibilité et absence. A aucun moment Luc n'établit une équivalence (comme A.G., dans son tableau de la p. 193) entre «non-reconnaître» et «non-voir»: il ne dit pas que leurs yeux étaient empêchés de le voir, mais de le reconnaître, signifiant ainsi que la seule vision physique est désormais insuffisante pour reconnaître le ressuscité.

- dernière remarque. Puisque l'ouvrage se proposait d'examiner la mise en discours, et donc le rapport énonciateur/énonciataire, on aurait aimé avoir quelques explications sur le début de l'évangile (Lc 1,1-4) où s'instaure précisément cette relation.

Ces suggestions ne prétendent en aucun cas remettre en question la *méthode* patiente qui nous a valu ce beau travail. Quant au vocabulaire, précis mais inutilement abscond, il fait regretter les trois volumes des *Figures* de G. Genette, où la critique devient littérature.

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Salvador MUÑOZ IGLESIAS, *Los Evangelios de la Infancia*, II. Los anuncios angélicos previos en el Evangelio lucano de la Infancia (Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos 479). XII-321 p. 20×12,5. Madrid 1986.

Im Hauptteil des Buches werden die beiden Verkündigungsgeschichten (Lk 1,5-25.26-38) und die Geschichte von der Heimsuchung (Lk 1,39-45.56) Vers für Vers ausgelegt. Diesen drei Kapiteln ist ein Kapitel vorausgestellt, das sich mit der literarischen Gattung der Vorankündigung in der Hl. Schrift beschäftigt, und ein anderes Kapitel, das die text- und literarkritischen Fragen der drei Abschnitte untersucht. Der Anhang besteht aus drei Teilen: Der Verf. gibt eine Übersicht über die fünf Textabschnitte, die er als poetisch ansieht; er bietet den Text von fünf vollständigen und drei teilweisen Übersetzungen von Lk 1,5-45.56 ins Hebräische, die zwischen 1668 (G. B. Jona) und 1945 (H. Sahlin) veröffentlicht wurden; es folgt eine umfangreiche und gut geordnete Bibliographie; schließlich ein Autorenregister.

Die Einzelauslegung ist ausführlich und genau. Sie gibt eine breite Information über die verschiedenen Interpretationen der strittigen Punkte und zeigt eine profunde Kenntnis der Literatur. Die Auseinandersetzung mit anderen Positionen geschieht immer vornehm und maßvoll. Das besondere Interesse von M. gilt durchgehend der Möglichkeit einer problemlosen Rückübersetzung ins Hebräische. Damit verbunden ist die These, daß die Kapitel Lk 1-2 von einem judenchristlichen, aus levitischen Kreisen kommenden Autor stammen und ursprünglich auf Hebräisch abgefaßt waren. Lukas habe sie ins Griechische übersetzt und seinem Evangelium vorangestellt.

Das Hauptziel seiner Untersuchung sieht M. in dem Aufweis, daß die beiden Verkündigungen nach dem alttestamentlichen literarischen Schema der Vorankündigung gestaltet sind (248). Nach der sonstigen Verwendung und dem sonstigen Charakter dieses Schemas lasse sich bestimmen, was an der Erzählung historisches Geschehen mitteilt und was literarische Einkleidung ist. Für Personen, die in der Geschichte Israels eine wichtige Rolle gespielt haben, wie Isaak, Mose, Gideon, Simson, erzählt die Schrift eine Vorankündigung ihrer Geburt oder eine direkte Berufung durch Gott. Damit solle nicht gesagt werden, daß ihrer Geburt oder ihrem Wirken eine solche Mitteilung oder ein solcher Ruf vorausging, sondern es soll nachdrücklich betont werden, daß hinter ihrem Wirken Gott steht und dessen eigentlicher Initiator ist. Für diese gläubig behauptete Tatsache seien vorausgehende Verkündigung und Berufungserzählung eine literarische Einkleidung, sie seien aber nicht der Geburt oder dem Wirken der betreffenden Person historisch-tatsächlich vorausgegangen (50f). Was M. hier positiv behauptet, kann nur unterstrichen werden. Daß aber dem Wirken selbst generell nichts an Mitteilung vorausgegangen sein soll, ist wohl zweifelhaft. Wenn Paulus in Gal 1,15-17 davon spricht, daß Gott ihm seinen Sohn geoffenbart hat, dann will er wohl nicht nur sagen, daß sein Wirken unter der Führung Gottes stand, sondern daß er in einem besonderen, vorausgehenden Ereignis von Gott zu diesem Wirken veranlaßt wurde. Allerdings kann die knappe Aussage von Gal 1,15 und die Beschreibung in Apg 9,1-9 im Vergleich auch zeigen, wie zwischen einem solchen

vorausgehenden Vorgang selbst und seiner Darstellung zu unterscheiden ist. Es scheint auch, daß M. selbst dem aufgestellten Prinzip nicht treu bleibt. In dem Abschnitt, in dem er für Lk 1,5-25.26-38 die Scheidung zwischen historischer Tatsache und literarischer Einkleidung durchführt (57-65) und den er als provisorische Studie bezeichnet (248), schließt er bereits für Zacharias die Möglichkeit des "mystischen Phänomens einer übernatürlichen Voranzeige" nicht aus (62) und behauptet ausdrücklich, daß Maria "durch göttliche Offenbarung auf dem Weg einer mystischen Mitteilung" von der jungfräulichen Empfängnis erfuhr und dazu ihre Zustimmung gab (65). Entgegen dem zuvor aufgestellten Prinzip besagt die Erzählung der Vorankündigung besonders in Lk 1,26-38 nicht nur, daß Empfängnis, Geburt und Wirken Jesu von der Verfügung Gottes bestimmt waren, sondern auch, daß der Geburt Jesu eine Ankündigung vorausging. Es läßt sich also nicht generell und schematisch festlegen, was bei diesen Erzählungen tatsächliches Geschehen aussagt und was literarische Einkleidung ist. Damit soll nicht angezweifelt werden, daß die Vorankündigung eine literarische Gattung mit relativ gleichbleibenden Motiven ist, und es soll nicht behauptet werden, daß das in Lk 1,26-38 Beschriebene sich Wort für Wort so abgespielt hat, wie es erzählt wird. Das, was Maria vor der jungfräulichen Empfängnis Jesu erfahren hat und wozu sie ihre Zustimmung gab, ist in dieser Gattung gefaßt und ausgedrückt. Es scheint mir aber deutlich zu sein, daß hier nicht schon die Gattungsbestimmung zu Urteilen über 'geschehen' und 'nicht-geschehen' berechtigt, die auf jedes Vorkommen der Gattung angewendet werden können. Es ist notwendig und hilfreich, die Gattung festzustellen; es ist aber auch notwendig, den Einzelfall, der durch die Gattung literarisch gefaßt wird, mit allen seinen Komponenten abzuwägen, wie es durch M. auf S. 64f in einem gewissen Gegensatz zu S. 50f geschieht.

M. tritt nachdrücklich dafür ein, daß es sich in Lk 1,26-38 wie in 1,5-25 um die literarische Form der Vorankündigung einer Geburt handelt und er weist die Klassifizierung 'Berufungserzählung' zurück (19f.63.150). Auch er stellt fest, daß Anfang und Schluß, der eröffnende Engelsgruß (1,28) und die abschließende Zustimmung Marias (1,38), aus dem Schema 'Geburtsankündigung' herausfallen und eine Parallele am ehesten in Ri 6,12 (Berufung des Gideon) bzw. in Jes 6,8 (Berufung des Jesaja) haben. Demgegenüber betont er, daß Lk 1,31f eindeutig eine Geburtsankündigung ist und daß ein wesentliches Element einer Berufungserzählung, nämlich die Sendung "Geh und ...!", in Lk 1,26-38 fehlt. Es soll hier nicht um Bezeichnungen gestritten werden. Wichtig scheint mir zu sein, daß die besonderen Züge, die nicht nur Jesus, sondern auch Maria betreffen und die im Vergleich von 1,26-38 mit 1,5-23 und von 1,39-56 mit 1,24f sehr deutlich sind, voll beachtet werden. Wie dem Zacharias wird Maria die Geburt eines Sohnes angekündigt. Aber im Unterschied zu Zacharias ist diese Ankündigung eingerahmt (Anfang und Schluß!) von Elementen, die sich sonst in einer Berufungserzählung finden. Lukas stellt den Auftrag an Maria, seiner Natur entsprechend, nicht als Sendung dar, wohl aber als Berufung zu dieser Aufgabe unter dem besonderen, wirkmächtigen Beistand Gottes. Seine Ausführungen sind ganz ausgerichtet auf das Kommen Jesu, indem sie aber das machtvolle Wirken Gottes an Maria und die gläubige Aufnahme dieses Wirkens durch Maria beschreiben.

An Versehen, die beiläufig bemerkt wurden, sollen angeführt sein: S. 108 wird im Zusammenhang mit Lk 1,14 auf ein Wort Jesu verwiesen, das von der Freude der Juden über Johannes den Täufer spricht, ohne die Stellenangabe Joh 5,35. Von den S. 136 angeführten hebräischen Wörtern bedeutet nicht das erste, sondern das zweite 'Jungfrau'. S. 138 muß es am Fuß der Seite Lk 1,27 statt 1,17 heißen. In Mt 16,16 und Joh 11,27; 20,31 ist Sohn Gottes sicher Apposition zu Christus. Im Hinblick auf Mt 11,27; 28,19 und die Sicht des Sohnes im Johannesevangelium insgesamt dürfte es schwierig sein, dem Ausdruck nur "messianischen Wert" (206) zuzuschreiben, die Apposition nur synonym und nicht zur vollen Identität Jesu aufsteigend zu verstehen.

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Lothar WEHR, *Arznei der Unsterblichkeit*. Die Eucharistie bei Ignatius von Antiochien und im Johannesevangelium (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen, Neue Folge 18) xvi-400 S. 24 x 16,5. Münster 1987. Aschendorff. DM 98, —.

The astonishing statements about the necessity of "eating the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking his blood" in John 6,51d-58 have long served as grist for theological and scholarly debate. In pre-critical days the assumption was that the passage would be compatible not only with the rest of John 6 but also with the rest of what the New Testament had to say about the Eucharist. A major difficulty recognized even under these circumstances was that the Johannine Jesus went on to say in words no less definite that "it is the spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail; the words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (John 6,63). Theological subtlety was exercised on all sides to show how these apparently contradictory views could be harmonized and together could be made to cohere with the commentator's confessional standards. Today New Testament scholars frequently solve the problem simply by cutting the Gordian knot: John 6,51d-58, it is argued by many, represents a later addition the purpose of which was to explore Eucharistic practice in terms of Johannine themes or (as Rudolf Bultmann in particular suggested) to correct what the ecclesiastical redactor regarded as dangerous spiritualizing tendencies in John.

Lothar Wehr is also convinced that John 6,51d-58 represents a later addition to the text of the evangelist, and he is among those who see our present gospel as the end product of a struggle between representatives of diverse theological viewpoints in the Johannine community. His theory here is more complex and more carefully articulated than usual. He believes that we have to deal especially with the following elements in the world of Johannine Christianity: (a) the evangelist who, though not a docetist, had no interest in the sacred meal of the early christians and who spoke of the eating of the bread of life metaphorically, (b) the redaction whose purpose was to

oppose both (c) a Gnostic-docetic tendency (which the redaction resisted by emphasizing the incarnation and by reaching back to an interpretation of the common meal in strongly sacramental terms) and (d) a magico-sacramental tendency (which the redaction resisted through a reinterpretation of the sacramental language of the same tradition, emphasizing the role of communion with the person of Jesus Christ). The thesis is worked out with all the close attention to the language of the text that we have come to expect of this type of study and in full dialogue with the literature (with special attention to the work of J. Becker on the gospel).

A distinctive feature of the study is the care taken also in the analysis of other texts considered relevant for an understanding of the dynamics of the debate that lies below the surface of the gospel of John. Attention is given to the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the Gospel of Philip from Nag-Hammadi, the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, the Didache, and inscriptions associated with the cult of Zeus Panamaros. The inscriptions yield very little (as the author recognizes). The other sources are regarded as presenting further examples of the strong focus on the sacred meal that is evident in the Johannine community (though not in the work of the evangelist himself). The Didache is rightly seen as drawing the least theological consequences from this emphasis on the common meal. The Gospel of Philip and the Acts of Thomas are obviously more closely related to the development discernible in John and within the limits of Gnostic theology provide interesting analogies to more than one of the positions reflected in the debate.

But it is Ignatius who attracts the most attention and who in fact is taken up in great detail in the first part of this study. For Ignatius is seen as occupying a position close to that of the redaction of the gospel of John. Both resist docetism (this is, of course, clearer in the case of Ignatius than in the case of the redaction of John), both emphasize the incarnation and call on a similar tradition of sacramental realism to reinforce the point, and both strip that tradition of magical traits by emphasizing the role of communion with the person of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist.

The analysis of Ignatius builds on some obvious points: the antidocetism of Ignatius and his emphasis on the incarnation and the reality of the Lord's presence in the elements of the sacred meal. It is a step forward, however, when it is recognized that sacramental realism comes to sharp expression in Ignatius relatively rarely (primarily in Sm 7.1) and that in the relevant passages Eucharistic categories interact significantly with non-sacramental features of Ignatius' theology and in particular are directly connected by him with the "event of salvation in Jesus Christ". It is a step forward in this regard when it is recognized that the famous description of the Eucharist as "the medicine of immortality" (Eph 20.2), though it presupposes sacramental realism, remains a metaphorical expression and should not be used to suggest the presence in Ignatius of a mechanical conception of the power at work in the sacrament (a position that I reached on somewhat different grounds in my commentary, *Ignatius of Antioch* [Philadelphia 1985] 97-99; 146, n. 4). It is also a step forward when the expression "pure bread" in Rm 4.1 is recognized not as a Eucharistic expression but as a metaphor drawn from the realm of ancient baking, lending no support to the view that Ignatius saw his

own martyrdom as a quasi-Eucharistic event (again, see my commentary, p. 176).

The views expressed in these pages by Wehr can, I believe, be taken still further. I would make more of the fact, for example, that Ignatius' use of the terms "flesh" and "blood" occurs more often than not in contexts where the Eucharist provides a background for them but does not determine the function of them in the theological world of Ignatius. In Sm 12.2 they are part of a series of polar expressions — "in his flesh and blood, in his passion and resurrection, both fleshly and spiritual" — which function primarily to spell out the Christological basis of the "unity of God and of you" (which I take to mean "unity from God and among you"). Eucharistic language is at most echoed here. And the rhetoric of the passage should be compared especially to Mag 13.1 where the unity of the congregation is described metaphorically as prosperity "in flesh and spirit, in faith and love, in the Son and the Father [delete, I suspect, 'and the Spirit'], in the beginning and in the end". Here the polarities serve to express completeness quite apart from any consideration of the specific level of theological discourse to which each of them belongs. It should also be noted that especially the first two polarities (flesh and spirit, faith and love) are connected with that of flesh and blood elsewhere in Ignatius. And it is a special mark of Ignatius' theology that flesh and spirit (and thus also all the polar terms that appear in these formulae) are thought of as complementing rather than opposing one another. This feature of Ignatius' rhetoric suggests not only that Eucharistic themes may sometimes play a subordinate role in Ignatius' account of salvation, but also that the mention of flesh and blood (with only an oblique reference to the Eucharist) sometimes serves to underscore other theological points. Thus the reality of the passion is evidently reinforced in Sm 12.2 by the reference to the flesh and blood, and the same can be said of the mention of Christ's "flesh" alone (Eph 7.2; 20.2; Sm 1.1,2; 3.1), his "flesh and spirit" (Sm 1.1; 3.2; cf. Eph 7.2; Sm 3.3; 12.2), or his "blood" alone (Sm 1.1; 6.1; cf. Eph 1.1; Phld inscr.). The context of the Eucharistic language in Sm 6.2–8.2 shows that the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharistic elements is connected by Ignatius with the reality of Christ's incarnation and passion and in turn with the central importance of faith and love in the Christian community. It appears that Ignatius believed that the reality of Christ's humanity and the reality of Christian faith and love (which for him includes obedience to the bishop) stand or fall together. There is an important sense, then, in which the basic sacrament in the theology of Ignatius is the community itself with all the mysterious bonds that bind it together. Ignatius' theological world is not a highly differentiated one, and we should not be surprised to find that various elements in his thought (such as the Eucharist) can take center stage for a time only to be reabsorbed and to reappear in a subordinate form elsewhere in his letters.

It is from this point of view that I would return to other passages in Ignatius relevant to his view of the Eucharist. I would make more of the fact that the best parallel to Phld 4 (one Eucharist, one flesh, one cup, one altar, one bishop) is Mag 7 where a comparable list of items (7.1: one prayer, one petition, one mind, one hope; 7.2: one temple, one altar, one Jesus

Christ from and with the one Father) is developed without any emphasis on the Eucharist. Similarly I would support the usual view (against Wehr) that Tr 8.1 (in which faith and love are glossed as flesh and blood without reference to the Eucharist) represents the best parallel to Rm 7.3. The latter is certainly more complex and clearly uses the terminology with Eucharistic overtones. But I doubt that Ignatius' expressed desire for the bread of God has to do primarily with a desire for the Eucharist as such. Again I think it more likely that the mention of flesh and blood underscores the reality of the passion and (in this context) the reality of Ignatius' own resolution to face martyrdom and thus (as he sees it) to prove the truth of his claims to be a Christian. The verb *thelein* is used by Ignatius when he expresses his desire for the bread of God. Of the twenty-three uses of the verb in Ignatius, seventeen occur in Rm and eight of these in the first person singular. And the most significant uses of the verb in Rm (see especially 3.2) intersect the theme of matching words with deeds that appears elsewhere in the letters and that in Rm is connected with the need that Ignatius himself feels to prove the reality of his Christianity through his martyrdom. Thus within the context of the argument of Rm as a whole it seems more likely that Ignatius once again uses Eucharistic language for non-Eucharistic purposes.

Finally, I would be inclined to concede less to those who emphasize the impact that Gnostic ideas had upon Ignatius particularly in his development of the theme of unity. I would not only stress the extent to which Ignatius has applied the theme to the concrete organization of the Christian community, but would also stress the fact that the clearest parallels that we have to his language in this regard are not from the Gnostics. Thus the striking list of items prefixed with the word "one" in Mag 7 (see above) presupposes patterns of speech in Josephus and Philo and behind them in Stoicism (see Martin Dibelius, *Neue Jahrbücher für die klassische Altertumswissenschaft* 35/36 [1915] 224-236—an article that Wehr cites but does not exploit). And the language in Eph 4.2 (where the thought of unity is developed in another way) has its closest parallels in Theon of Smyrna (p. 12, ed. Hiller) and other Graeco-Roman authors. Intersecting this circle of ideas is the theme of *homonoiia* (concord) which is best explained as an application of Hellenistic civic ideals to church life. The word is not biblical, but it occurs with frequency in Ignatius and 1 Clement. Its background in popular culture is particularly clear in 1 Clement (see especially W. C. van Unnik, *Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse akademie van wetenschappen. Afd. letterkunde* 33/34 [1970] 149-204). But there can be little doubt that the same is true of Ignatius especially in the light of his indebtedness in many other matters to the culture of the Greek city.

The social and religious horizons of Ignatius, then, are distinct from those of the gospel of John; and it is also clear that he is in touch with a wider range of Christian tradition and literature from the first century. But I do not doubt that Ignatius (as Wehr argues) is in contact with the same Eucharistic tradition as John and that his treatment of it is broadly comparable to that which we find in the gospel. At the same time, it seems clear that the theological debate in which Ignatius was involved was by no means as complex as that in which Wehr's redactor was involved. Ignatius reflects

no knowledge of a non-sacramental tradition, and there is no evidence that he was consciously correcting an exaggerated sacramentalism. And ironically, where the concerns of Ignatius and the redaction overlap most clearly in the rejection of docetic views, it must remain an educated guess that this is in fact the case for the gospel of John. These differences are perfectly understandable as the result of the passage of time and of changed circumstances. But we may also be justified in wondering whether the situation as reconstructed by Wehr is not too complex to be credible. I see two problems in particular.

First, it may be (as many argue) that a sacramental tradition was taken for granted from the beginning in the Johannine community and that John 6,51d-58 brings to fuller expression things hinted at in the earlier stratum of the gospel. The linchpin of this more conservative approach is the presence of Eucharistic overtones elsewhere in the chapter. It is necessary, therefore, for Wehr to eliminate these. And it must be admitted that good reasons (though perhaps not fully decisive reasons) are given for regarding some of the most suggestive details as secondary (such as the reference to the Passover in v. 4 and the emphasis on Jesus "eucharistizing" in v. 23). The case would be stronger, however, if a discussion were provided of the view that the story of the feeding of the five thousand in both the Synoptic and Johannine traditions was already understood in Eucharistic terms. Moreover, doubts are bound to arise over just how far the method for distinguishing strata in the text can be pushed. Wehr presents a familiar view when (for example) he ascribes to the redaction the words "and I will raise him up at the last day" (John 6,39.40.44) on the formal grounds that they are not well integrated in the text. He admits, however, that the same line has an equally isolated appearance in John 6,54 within a context ascribed to the redaction itself. Perhaps wisely he refuses to invoke yet another level of redaction. But if the redactor can be allowed to work in this way, why should the same privilege not be extended also to others? A blend (or juxtaposition) of realized eschatology and futuristic eschatology is surely not inconceivable at almost any stage in the world of the gospel of John, and perhaps the same could be said about the coexistence there of sacramental and metaphorical conceptions of the elements in the sacred meal. It is hard to believe any longer that the gospel of John as we know it is the product of the sustained effort of a single figure, but it is not as clear that the evangelist would have been as uncomfortable with the perspectives of his successors as some contemporary scholars and theologians assume.

Second, it is even less clear to me that the evidence points to the existence of a group that held to a magical conception of the elements in the sacred meal (a possibility made all the more problematic by the repeated suggestion that this conception may already reflect gnostic interests or at least be open to a Gnostic interpretation). One can quarrel that in this connection far too much is made of the talk about "having life in you" (John 6,53). For even granted that such words may be part of a traditional Eucharistic formula and that they are not used elsewhere in the gospel to describe the redeemed state of believers (p. 258), their presence here is not enough to identify an act as magical (and not enough to convince us that they may not

be simply a variant of other Johannine expressions). The term magic plays such a small role in contemporary anthropology and studies in the history of religion precisely because acts that in the past were labelled magic are so rarely isolated from a broader context of meaning. The parallel that Wehr offers from the Acts of Thomas 51 (where the hands of a young man who had committed "a lawless deed" wither up on reception of the Eucharist) presents us with an event that is obviously not fully isolated from spiritual and ethical values. Conversely, wherever sacred power is associated with physical objects, there is always the possibility that extraordinary events of this kind will take place, no matter how strongly connected with non-sacramental values the sacred elements have become. We need only recall the miracles recorded by Cyprian (*De lapsis*, 25-26) concerning the events that surrounded the reception of the Eucharist by people who wittingly or (in the case of an infant) unwittingly had denied the faith. Such displays of power clearly reinforce the values and perspectives of a community when it is threatened. Only the outsider sees them as acts of coercive magic. I suggest that the situation is not in principle different when a community in less stressful circumstances celebrates the sacred meal, "connecting" the elements with Jesus Christ or "bringing to expression" faith and love in their reception. In theological terms (to recall Ignatius), the reality of the Lord's presence is the presupposition of the reality of people's Christianity; in sociological terms, the sacrality of the elements invests the requirement of faith and love (and sometimes also of the bishop) with awesome authority. I would argue, then, that there is not likely to have been a great difference between Wehr's sacramentalists and those who redacted the gospel. For if I understand Wehr correctly, what happened is simply this, that the redaction adopted the sacramental realism of the tradition but "connected" it more securely with the person of Jesus Christ. From my point of view the distinction involved is not likely to be a very meaningful one. And this of course also increases the possibility that "massive sacramentalism" was present from the beginning in the Johannine community.

This is an excellent book. Even if the doubts that I have expressed have some substance, a reading of Wehr's study significantly adds to our ability to sort out the issues and to locate the problems. His conclusions are the kind that can be correlated with other perspectives fruitfully and his detailed analysis will provide a measure of the carefulness of future work.

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Varia

G. H. R. HORSLEY, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity. A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Published in 1979* (Volume IV). iv-297 p. 24,1 × 18,1. Sydney 1987. Macquarie University. \$ 42.00.

Tenemos en este volumen una nueva prueba de la laboriosidad de los miembros del Centro de Investigación Documental de Historia Antigua radicado en la Universidad de Macquarie (Australia). Lo que Horsley presenta en este libro es de gran utilidad no sólo para los historiadores de la antigüedad, sino también para los cultivadores de la ciencia bíblica. No es ninguna presunción de los especialistas insistir en la importancia de conocer la lengua y las instituciones del mundo antiguo, para penetrar mejor el sentido del texto bíblico. El recuerdo de las palabras de Pío XII en su *Divino afflante Spiritu* (AAS 35 [1943] 305) y las más recientes de la *Dei Verbum* (III 12) del Vaticano II, son más que suficientes para corroborar este recurso al ambiente en que se redactó la Biblia y con particular atención, en este libro, al NT. Estas autorizadas recomendaciones creo que pueden realzar la importancia de esta obra, que ocupa el lugar IV de la colección en la que está integrada. En este volumen se han incluido y comentado los textos editados durante el año 1979, ya como ediciones príncipes, ya como reediciones, lo cual, a veces, ha comportado cierta elasticidad en la acomodación de los límites del tiempo considerado.

Este tomo, como el anterior, se divide en seis apartados: Contexto neotestamentario - Notas filológicas menores - Citas y referencias bíblicas - Judaica - Ecclesiastica - Varia. Cinco índices finales facilitan la consulta de la obra. En términos generales, el trabajo se diría realizado con gran seriedad y no menor acribía en la discusión de determinados puntos y con un notable dominio de la bibliografía. G. H. R. Horsley es el responsable de la edición y de gran parte de los diferentes artículos o entradas. Pero no deben olvidarse otros valiosos colaboradores: D. C. Barker, R. J. S. Barrett-Lennard, P. M. Brennan, A. L. Connolly (redactor de veintiún artículos), E. A. Judge, R. A. Kearsley, R. Oster y R. Tracey.

Vamos ahora a detenernos en dos pequeñas consideraciones. La primera atañe al nº 16, que reproduce el POxy. XLII 3065, carta del siglo III p. C., incluida en el apartado del contexto neotestamentario. A propósito de este papiro, Horsley ha compuesto una lista de las cartas de los siglos III y IV p. C., para confrontar y evaluar los criterios de los autores que las han estudiado y las han considerado —o no— cristianas: Ghedini, Naldini, Wipszycka y Tibiletti. Es una comparación, por demás, interesante. Entre estos criterios, está la mención de ἡ θεία πρόνοια (es de notar que las dos veces que πρόνοια se encuentra en el NT [Act 24,2 y Rom 13,14] no dice relación a Dios). Ahora bien, teniendo en cuenta lo que Naldini dice respecto a dicha expresión, Horsley (61) afirma: «Tibiletti's position is to be preferred». Sin

embargo, no parecen tan divergentes las posiciones de ambos autores. En efecto, M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* (Firenze 1968) 14, precisa: «è doverosa una riserva: il motivo della Provvidenza fu caro alla stessa speculazione ellenistico-romana, in particolare allo stoicismo». Con lo cual se ve claro que no es de uso exclusivamente cristiano. G. Tibiletti, por su parte (*Le lettere private nei papiri greci del III e IV secolo* [Milano 1979] 107), dice: «alla τύχη pagana subentra la πρόνοια quasi sempre cristiana» (cf. además p. 64). En los dos autores, pues, no se reduce la πρόνοια a un empleo necesariamente cristiano.

Sobre el PPalau Rib. inv. 31, siglo IV/V p. C., que presenté al XV Congreso Internacional de Papirología (celebrado en Bruselas/Lovaina, 20 VIII a 3 IX 1977) y que fue publicado como PXV Congr. 4, dice Connolly (p. 195) que «is probably patristic». Del hecho de que el papiro – a pesar de su relativa extensión: en total, treinta y nueve líneas – sea adéspota, no se sigue que solamente con probabilidad sea patristico. Su contenido es altamente teológico, como los otros tres del mismo fondo publicados con anterioridad y el de la colección de Pisa (PPis. inv. 4): «Testo patristico sulla controversia cristologica», editado por A. Concolino Mancini (en A. Carlini, *Papiri letterari greci* [Pisa 1978] 169-179); los cuatro provenientes, al menos, del mismo «scriptorium». De PPalau Rib. inv. 31 copio ahora parte de las línea 4 y 5 del fragmento B (†), como hace también Connolly: ἀμιγῆς κακίᾳ μονότροπον μον[ο]ούσιον ἀδιαίρετον ἀλώβητον ἀχείρωτον. Como comentario a esto, añade acertadamente Connolly: «These last lines may form part of a discussion of the Trinity». Son pocas las dudas que puede haber sobre la condición patristica de este papiro. Sin embargo, si por rigorismo de terminología, se quiere evitar el calificativo de «patristico», no se puede rehuir al menos la atribución del texto a algún «escritor eclesiástico». Pero en todo caso, esta paternidad no parece probable, sino cierta.

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NUNTII PERSONARUM ET RERUM

I.O.S.O.T. Congress in Leuven in 1989

The Thirteenth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament will be held 27 August – 1 September 1989 in Leuven under the Presidency of Professor C. Brekelmans. The Secretary of the Congress is Professor J. Lust.

Suggestions and topics for short papers should be addressed to:

J. Lust
Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid
K.U. Leuven
Sint-Michielsstraat 6
3000 Leuven – BELGIUM

L'arte e la Bibbia: The image as biblical exegesis

Venice, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 14-16 October 1988. International meeting sponsored by BIBLIA, a lay association of biblical culture, 50040 Settimello, Firenze, Italy.

"L'arte e la Bibbia" intends to consider the relationship between the sacred text, the imagination and images. The meeting will take place in Venice, in the convent of San Giorgio (presently the Giorgio Cini Foundation). In the cloisters of the former Benedictine monastery fifteen philosophers, art historians and biblical scholars will meet to study the role of art beyond mere biblical illustration: art as exegesis — a valid and revelatory interpretation — of the universal spiritual content of the sacred text. Fundamental questions for the meeting are: if and how the sacred text can be expressed in images; how artists have interpreted the contents of sacred texts; the importance of art which is inspired by the Bible for the understanding of the sacred text itself.

The meeting will be interdisciplinary and is intended not only for specialists but for all who are interested in the cultural history of today's society.

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Vetus Testamentum

Aejmelaeus, Anneli-Sollamo, Raija (Hrsg.), *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax.* Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen zum 70. Geburtstag (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia-Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B-237). Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987, 224 p. 24,3 × 16,5.

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ISSN 0006-0887

PIETRO BOCCACCIO, Direttore Responsabile

Autorizz. Tribunale di Roma n. 6229 del 24-3-1958 del Reg. della Stampa

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